

202

11/12
As furness fr.
This seems fine
11/12

I have confirmed in
this in no way alter
FROM: C A Munn

I have
reply we are
the 23. note.
12/12

Western European Department

DATE: 11 December 1985

cc: Mr Dain, WED

Mr Furness, SPD

Mr Wood, Legal Advisers

Mr Derek Thomas

PS

FPZ 175/1

MENT
GREENPEACE/FRANCE: APPOINT^{MENT} OF ARBITRATOR

PROBLEM

1. The Master of the Rolls has been asked by Mr Lloyd Cutler if he might act as an appointing authority in the dispute between Greenpeace and France. FM

RECOMMENDATION

2. I recommend that the Secretary of State should agree, but only after we have established beyond any doubt that the French government wishes the Master of the Rolls to act as an appointing authority if the pending action goes to arbitration and the parties fail to agree on a chairman. Legal Advisers agree. I also recommend that Mr Derek Thomas should raise this with the French Political Director, M. Morel, in the margin of the NAC meetings in Brussels on 12/13 December.

BACKGROUND AND ARGUMENT

A 3. Mr Gladwell's letter of 11 December is background. In view of the French sensitivities over Greenpeace it would be inappropriate for the Secretary of State to agree ^{with} the proposal by Mr Cutler until we have clear written evidence that this is desired by both parties. Legal Advisers consider that the Master of the Rolls should see the text of any agreement between France and Greenpeace on this matter. This would bring out the scope of the dispute and the role of the appointing authority. Legal Advisers also recommend drawing to the attention of the Master of the Rolls the fact that the Rainbow Warrior was a British owned and British registered ship.

4. I have telephoned the Lord Chancellor's Office to explain why it will not be possible to give the FCO's definitive response until we have confirmed ^{through} ~~from~~ our own channels that the French want the Master of the Rolls to act as proposed by Mr Cutler.

TH Sones

88 C A Munro




Secretary of State for Foreign
and Commonwealth Affairs

A word

§§ 4, 6

Mr. Thorne

Mr. Davis (WED)  10/12

The Secretary of State is anxious to soften the wording of paras 4-6 to do everything possible to avoid causing offence to the French, without omitting the facts. Thus he wd like to avoid saying we "confirmed our readiness (....)".

Grateful if you wd have one more look at the draft. CPB:dd 9/12

Secof State

(308)

Private Secretary

JPS / Lady Young

Mr Derek Thomas

FROM: D J M Dain
Western European Department

DATE: 4 December 1985

cc: Dr Wilson
SPD
Legal Advisers
Claims Dept~~attach~~
aide memoire
revised and
copied to
SPD for action,

GREENPEACE "RAINBOW WARRIOR": COMPENSATION

Problem

WRF 26/12

- A 1. How to respond to the note from the New Zealand High Commission about compensation claims in respect of the Rainbow Warrior sinking? T.

Recommendation

CP 11/12

10/1

2. I recommend that SPD deliver an aide memoire setting out our position to the New Zealand High Commission. I submit a draft. SPD, Legal Advisers and Claims Dept concur.

Background

3. The New Zealand High Commission delivered a note about claims to SPD on 14 October. The note clarified New Zealand's position, i.e. that its claims against the French would cover only violation of sovereignty and expenses incurred directly by the New Zealand authorities. It notified us of New Zealand's intention not to espouse claims more appropriately the subject of UK rights of protection, i.e. those relating to damage to the ship. The New Zealanders proposed to suggest to Greenpeace's lawyer, Mr Lloyd Cutler (a former adviser to President Carter) that he should consult the appropriate UK authorities over any claims relating to the ship which Greenpeace intended to pursue.

4. Generally we agree with what the New Zealanders propose. It has been agreed interdepartmentally that:

- i) we should wait for Greenpeace to approach us about any claim for compensation for the loss of the Rainbow Warrior;
- ii) in response to any approach, we should be prepared to offer an informal exchange of views between the appropriate FCO Legal Adviser(s) and Mr Cutler, making clear that any advice offered is on a completely informal and unattributable basis;
- iii) we should make it clear to Greenpeace that it is a matter for them how they draw up their claim: they are free either to

accept/

accept or reject our advice. They must also be responsible for the presentation of their claim to the French Government;

iv) we should wait to see a copy of the Greenpeace claim in the form in which it is presented to the French Government before deciding whether and, if so, how to speak in support of that claim to the French Government.

B 5. This is entirely consistent with the last exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr Wilkinson of Greenpeace. The aide memoire for the New Zealanders does not go into this amount of detail, but we propose to clarify our intentions orally when handing it over.

6. The New Zealand Government's note was copied to the Dutch Government. However, we see no need to copy our reply to them and consider it preferable not to, in order to limit the risk of some unhelpful report getting back to the French.

7. We still have no clear indication of Greenpeace's intentions regarding compensation. The French Embassy have told us informally that they believe Greenpeace are preparing a claim against the French Ministry of Defence. They have undertaken to check with their Legal Advisers to see if they can discover anything further. We have emphasized to them our wish to avoid any contact with Greenpeace which could spur the latter into action.

D J M

D J M Dain

This problem will not go away. I know Lloyd Cutler well and if he approaches us it might be useful for me to talk to him. He will not be blind to his political sensitivities for us, but of course he could choose to play his at either way - as statesman or as business man. In his meantime his reply which the Dept. recommended to the New Zealanders seems right.

W. H. Lyons 4/12

POUR MEMOIRE

The British Government will be well aware from recent direct contacts and also public statements of the New Zealand Government's views on the Rainbow Warrior affair.

The admission by the Government of France of its international responsibility in respect of this matter and its offer to pay reparations is welcomed by the New Zealand Government.

Clearly France's international responsibility extends beyond the responsibility owed to New Zealand. The death of a Dutch citizen was caused by this internationally wrongful act and a British ship owned by a British company was destroyed.

New Zealand is concerned that prompt and just compensation be paid in respect of all these consequences of the bombing. Indeed, all of the members at the international community have grounds for concern that a flagrant breach of international law such as this be duly compensated.

It is recognised, nevertheless, that as the state of nationality, the UK has the prior right to espouse the appropriate claim. It is understood that the Government of the UK has indicated its interest in the regard to France, and New Zealand welcomes this step.

With this in mind, therefore, as discussions on reparations proceed between France and New Zealand, the New Zealand side will make it clear that it is not espousing claims more properly the subject of UK rights of protection. New Zealand will instead, if there is no objection, simply indicate to the French authorities its concern, as the state whose sovereignty was infringed, for a prompt and fair settlement of these claims either through direct negotiations between France and the injured parties, through appropriate arbitration or judicial settlement or through state to state negotiations. A note in similar terms to the foregoing but mutatis mutandis is also being addressed to the Government of the Netherlands.

It is understood that the interests of Greenpeace International, and the claim in respect of the vessel itself are being represented by a US Attorney, Mr Lloyd Cutler of Wilmer Cutler and Pickering, Washington DC. It would be our intention, consistent with the above, to suggest to Mr Cutler that he should consult with the appropriate UK authorities.

308.
Please update as
shown and
return. *Thank*
MS
~~1972~~

AIDE MEMOIRE
GREENPEACE "RAINBOW WARRIOR"

1. The British Government is grateful to the New Zealand Government for the account of its position ^{on} regarding compensation ~~claims~~ ^{against France contained} in the Note delivered by the New Zealand High Commission in London to the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on 14 October.
2. New Zealand's concern to take the British Government's interests fully into account in deciding what course of action to pursue is much appreciated.
3. The British authorities see no objection to the course of action which New Zealand proposes to take ^{vis-à-vis} the French authorities ~~and the legal representative of Greenpeace International, Mr Cutler.~~
4. The British Government shares New Zealand's concern that early compensation should be paid ~~by the French authorities~~ to those who have suffered in connection with the sinking. As the New Zealand authorities are aware, this was made clear in approaches to the French authorities in Paris and London on 24 and 25 September respectively. The payment of compensation to the family of the Dutch photographer killed in the sinking is a welcome development.
5. As far as the ship is concerned it is for the owners to take the initiative in seeking redress. The British Government expects them in the first instance to pursue negotiations over compensation directly with the French authorities. This has been made clear to Greenpeace in the course of recent correspondence.
6. Greenpeace have indicated that their lawyers are preparing a detailed report on the legal possibilities open to them and have undertaken to provide information on subsequent developments. The British Government ~~has confirmed its readiness to~~ ^{propose} consider what further support it might give in the light of such developments.

CONFIDENTIAL

255

See (3)

Enter - bin 27/11

(to check for Ewin Council)

Mr Dain, WED

Mr Dain SAM 26/11

Mr Clarke

D 25/11

26/11

See minute + pa

Greenpeace

The Secretary of State has now seen your submission of 22 November. He is glad that this idea is being followed up and agrees that we should now pass the information to the French. Rather, however, than do it himself, he would prefer Mr Derek Thomas to pass it on through the French Political Director.

4/12

25 November 1985

LV Appleyard
(L V Appleyard)

cc: PS/Mr Rifkind
PS/PUS
Mr Derek Thomas
Mr Furness, SPD
Mr Meyer, News Dept

WRF 26/12

FO 20/11/85

CP 10/12

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

186A

187

FPZ 175/1	
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 52	
26 NOV 1985	DATE: 22 November 1985
Mr Derek Thomas	cc: PS/Lady Young
	PS/Mr Rifkind
	PS/PUS
	Sir William Harding
	Mr Fergusson
	Mr Johnson
	Dr Wilson
	Mr Darwin

FROM: D J M Dain
Western European Department

DATE: 22 November 1985

Mr Derek Thomas

cc: PS/Lady Young
PS/Mr Rifkind
PS/PUS
Sir William Harding
Mr Fergusson
Mr Johnson
Dr Wilson
Mr Darwin

GREENPEACE "RAINBOW WARRIOR"

- A 1. You asked me to pursue the Secretary of State's suggestion (the Private Secretary's minute of 20 November) that it would ease our problem (over the payment of compensation) if we were to find that the Rainbow Warrior was owned by a limited company, not called Greenpeace, which would be prepared to make the claim.
- B 2. This is in fact the case. The Rainbow Warrior's registered owner (according to information collected by South America Department's Polar Regions Section) is Galleas Ltd of Grand Cayman. It is managed by Greenpeace (Rainbow Warrior Holdings) Ltd of London.
3. We know nothing about Galleas. I imagine it is simply a company set up by Greenpeace in the Cayman Islands for tax purposes. Payment of compensation by the French Government to Galleas would no doubt be claimed by Greenpeace as recognition by the French of their guilt vis-a-vis the organisation - I very much doubt that Greenpeace would agree to keep quiet in return for compensation. But I agree that it may nevertheless help the French if they can be seen to be paying compensation to a small boat-owning company rather than Greenpeace as an organisation.
4. I recommend that the Secretary of State convey this information to M. Dumas direct. This could be done by telephone, or on the occasion of their next meeting. I understand the Secretary of State will be attending the Foreign Affairs Council in Brussels on 25 November - if required we can check on Dumas' plans and try to arrange a short bilateral. If the Secretary of State agrees we can provide a short brief. Legal Advisers see no objection.
- C 5. You also asked recently whether we knew if Greenpeace had yet approached the French over compensation, and more generally if we knew anything more about Greenpeace's intentions. We do not - our information remains as is Mr Clarke's recent minute to you. Legal Advisers have made soundings through their channels, but have discovered nothing new. I recommend we take

advantage/

CONFIDENTIAL

advantage of any contacts with the French here or in Paris to check whether they are aware of any approaches by Greenpeace (I suspect we would soon hear if there were any).



D J M Dain

WOLF 261/2

Mr Dain (306)

Please pursue
X urgently.
(imagination needed)

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Derek Thomas

CP 10/12

pa. 27/11

Mr Dain draft

24/11

Anglo-French Summit

The Secretary of State has seen your separate minutes of 18 November about your discussion with M. Morel on South Africa and reporting on the Secretary of State's bilateral discussion with M. Dumas, and your subsequent conversation with M. Morel about this.

On South Africa, the Secretary of State has commented that M. Dumas took exactly the same line with him. This is why the Secretary of State spoke so firmly to the West German CDU/CSU delegation. He is inclined to agree with you about the usefulness of a further round of bilateral discussions with the French on Africa.

On the conversation with M. Morel about Greenpeace, the Secretary of State has commented that he suggested to M. Dumas that the French needed to look for a way which would allow the ship's claim to be pursued without acknowledging Greenpeace as such. If, for example, we found out, not by approaching Greenpeace direct, that the ship was owned by a limited company, not called Greenpeace, which would be prepared to make the claim, then that would ease our problem. He accepts your view that we should not approach Greenpeace direct at the present stage.

20 November 1985

L V Appleyard
(L V Appleyard)

cc: PS/Lady Young
PS/Mr Rifkind
PS/PUS
Sir William Harding
Mr Fergusson
Mr Johnson
Dr Wilson
Mr Darwin
Mr Dain

CONFIDENTIAL

Derek Thomas

18 November 1985

305

See 306

CONFIDENTIAL

/Lady Young

PS/PUS

Sir W Harding

Dr Wilson

Mr Darwin

Mr Bain

CP 10/12

ANGLO/FRENCH SUMMIT: BILATERAL DISCUSSION WITH M ROLAND DUMAS

1. The Secretary of State told me that after his bilateral meeting with M Dumas this morning, while walking across to No 10, he had had an opportunity to raise the question of Greenpeace informally with M Dumas. He told him that at the time of M Fabius' press conference on this question, we had done our utmost to handle it in such a way as to minimise pressure on HMG to become directly involved with the French Government on this matter. He said that it would help us to continue to manage things in this way if the French Government could find a means of making its position clear about compensation for the loss of the ship as they had done over the loss of life involved.

2. M Dumas indicated that it would be extremely difficult for the French Government to say anything in public about this matter. But he took the point and said he was looking at possible legal approaches to the question. The Secretary of State encouraged this.

3. The Secretary of State also reverted to the question of New Caledonia which M Dumas had raised during the full bilateral meeting (see record) as raising the same question of sovereignty as the Falklands. The Secretary of State explained the difficulty he and the Prime Minister had faced at Nassau in getting all the objectionable elements in the draft communique of the Commonwealth meeting removed. They had tried to remove this one but had got no support whatever. M Dumas noted this but made no riposte.

4. I subsequently went over the Greenpeace ground again with M Morel. I told him that I understood the Secretary of State and M Dumas had spoken briefly about it. I explained again the efforts we had made to ensure that HMG were not pressed by public and parliamentary opinion into the position of demanding compensation on behalf of Greenpeace for the loss of their ship. I said that we did not know how Greenpeace were proposing to pursue the matter. If they were to be prevented from doing so in the British Parliament, however, it would be important that they should be given some encouragement to think that the French Government would be prepared to compensate them without this kind of political pressure. I said I thought we had an interest in working together towards this end.

5. M Morel took the point but said that we had to understand the extreme political sensitivity in regard to Greenpeace in France.

/The

CONFIDENTIAL

The French needed to find a way of ~~finding a way of~~ paying compensation for the loss of a British ship without appearing to compensate the organisation itself. This was not easy.

6. We left the discussion on this rather inconclusive note. We shall need to keep in touch with the French about it.

I should be grateful to know as soon as we learn anything more about the intentions of Greenpeace, though it would clearly be prudent to avoid approaching them direct or giving them any sign of official interest.

fr B.
Derek Thomas

700
Mr. Furness (PWS)
Wing Thistle

Let's Taylor
FPA

7. 6/11

FP2 175/1
RECEIVED IN TELETYPE UNIT

51
(16)

Shall
(18? 2nd 40) 6/11

CONFIDENTIAL

Sir W. Harding

Our judgment with reference
to the subscription by most parties, Date: 4 November 1985
except the said. themselves
must eschew all comment.

From: A E Furness, SPD

cc: Mr Dain, WED
Legal Advisers

"RAINBOW WARRIOR"

1. Wellington telno 314 records the conviction for manslaughter
of the two French DGSE agents arrested in New Zealand after the
sinking of the Greenpeace vessel "Rainbow Warrior".

2. As the telegram mentions, the charge of murder was dropped
as a result of plea bargaining, and the two French agents pleaded
guilty to the lesser charge of manslaughter. The New Zealand
Solicitor-General indicated that there was not sufficient
evidence to prove that the accused were personally responsible for
placing the explosive devices on the "Rainbow Warrior" or that
they thought that any person would be killed or injured. A
contact at the New Zealand High Commission has pointed out to us
that the New Zealand police believe that other DGSE agents actually
planted the explosives: they have warrants out for their arrest,
but the latter remain in France.

3. The effect of this is that there will be no lengthy trial and
not public rehearsal of the New Zealand police's evidence. A
potential source of added friction between New Zealand and France
has thus been removed. The two agents, due to be sentenced on 22
November, face a maximum sentence of 14 years: our New Zealand
High Commission contact guesses that they may both receive a
seven-year sentence. On 25 November they will also face charges
of entering New Zealand on false passports. The New Zealand
Government has emphasised that it wishes the case to be conducted
in accordance with the law. One must assume, therefore, that
there was no government involvement in the plea bargaining process.

4. The next preoccupation for the New Zealand authorities will
be where the sentences should be carried out. We know that they
would be happy to dispose of this running sore in relations with
France by returning the convicted couple to France, to serve their
sentence there. There appears, however, to be no legal mechanism
by which this can be done.

A E Furness
South Pacific Department

CONFIDENTIAL

Enter & return with previous record
(probably pending for
Reimburse Warrior).

Reference

157

TAS

To: Distribution

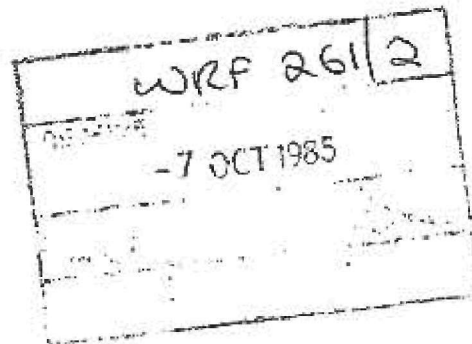
4/10

Destroy previous
version TAS

RECORD OF CALL ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE BY MR PALMER, DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND, ON MONDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER, 1985

7/10

1. Please find attached amended copy of above Record of Call.



South Pacific Department
3 October 1985

CONFIDENTIAL

RECORD OF CALL ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE BY MR PALMER, DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER OF NEW ZEALAND, ON MONDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER, 1985

Present:

The Rt Hon Sir Geoffrey Howe QC MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.	Mr G Palmer, Deputy Prime Minister
The Rt Hon The Baroness Young	Miss C Sutton, PS
Mr Appleyard, PS	Mr R Francis, Deputy Sec., MFA
Mr Furness, SPD	Mr N Walter, Acting High Commissioner
	Air Commodore D Neville, Head, Defence Liaison Staff

CONFIDENTIAL

Greenpeace and "Rainbow Warrior"

8. The Secretary of State said there was a link between the butter negotiations and New Zealand's relations with France. Britain had been glad to provide an explosives expert to advise on the sinking of "Rainbow Warrior", which was a British vessel. Mr Palmer said that there had been some progress with France on this issue. He had met the French Foreign Minister and a joint group of French/NZ experts had already held a first meeting at New York, to define what was at issue between the two Governments and planned to hold a further session in 3 or 4 weeks time. The French said they were ready to pay reparation for the losses sustained and NZ was drawing up a list of claims. The French said they might make some counter-claims, although Mr Palmer said he found it difficult to imagine what these would consist of. He emphasized that the New Zealanders would not compromise over the criminal proceedings against the "Turenge" couple in New Zealand which were under way, even if these led to a conviction; but New Zealand accepted that she had to live with France.

8 OCT 1985

Letter to
issue as amended

Secretary of State.

8/10

Private Secretary

PS/Lady Young

FROM: D-J M Dain

Western European Department

DATE: 2 October 1985

Letter has used

Mr Derek Thomas

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. You asked me to consider further my submission of 1 October and the draft reply from the Secretary of State to Greenpeace. I submit a revised draft.
2. The essence of the problem is to tread the narrow line between seeming to fob off Greenpeace unduly on issues where they may have a valid claim to official support and saying anything to them that could increase our problems with the French.
3. The new draft is more forthcoming in answering Greenpeace's request for information in assuring them that our files do not contain information which would be relevant to any claim they decided to lodge with the French authorities. A careful check of WED and SPD papers has shown that they contain no material relevant to the case that is not already available to Greenpeace through public channels. Questions as to who knew what, when, within the French administration, are not relevant. It would be inappropriate to reveal information available to us on this subject. PUSD agree with some uneasiness to the last sentence of the draft letter.
4. On the question how far we can go in answer to Greenpeace's enquiry about the British Government initiating legal proceedings against France we have consulted Claims Department and the Legal Advisers again. The definitive position under international law is that Her Majesty's Government could consider taking over formally any Greenpeace claim only if the latter had exhausted all available remedies. Greenpeace are not yet near to such a position. We understand that they have not yet formulated their own claim. My inclination is not to go substantially further than the wording of the draft letter. The question posed in Greenpeace's letter is in any case hypothetical, i.e. set in terms of whether we would initiate legal proceedings against France in the event that the trial of the accused in New Zealand revealed that French agents carried out the attack.

4. The matter would be made greatly easier if the French authorities were to indicate to Greenpeace, as they have to the relatives of the man who died, that they were prepared to pay compensation for the ship. Anything we can do to prompt them to say so publicly would be useful. Boidevaix (Deputy Secretary General at the Quai) told Sir John Fretwell on 27 September that the French Government "had now decided on the principle of compensation". The Secretary of State reverted to the point in his conversation with M. Dumas on 1 October and we have suggested in our telegram to Paris that they might pursue the thought if they could do so without reopening wounds. But we need to take care that too much insistence does not prove counter-productive.

5. I have considered whether to advise that in addition to a letter from the Secretary of State in reply to Greenpeace it would be worth offering a meeting with representatives of Greenpeace at Ministerial or official level. Such a meeting would provide a chance to put discreetly to Greenpeace the idea that any further forceful intervention with the French at this stage could produce the opposite effect from what we, and presumably they, desire in securing compensation. But my concern is that Greenpeace would use such a meeting to their advantage. They would have no interest in helping to keep our bilateral relations with France out of rough waters. Rather it would suit them to see HMG at odds with the French and to pretend that HMG were closer to Greenpeace's views on such matters as the French nuclear presence in the South Pacific.

6. With these considerations in mind it seems to me that our best tactics are to play things with Greenpeace long and at a distance. The draft in its present form is designed to achieve this; to give them no handles against us but at the same time no cause for complaint that would attract sympathy if they decided to make the correspondence public.



I am content with this
advice and now
endorse it. X

GREENPEACE

36 Graham Street, London N1 8LL
Tel: 01-608 1461. Telex: 25245

(14)
See
See

The Rt. Hon. Geoffrey Howe, MP,
Secretary of State,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
London, SW1 2AH.

Qack
② LHD for advice / back
reply from 8/5 by 2/6/85

WRF 261/2 See sub-number

13th September 1985

Dear Sir Geoffrey;

7/10

SS

B/Lady Young
B/Ans
the fun kms
SAD, ASD

May I thank you for your letter of the 12th September in reply to mine of the 28th August concerning the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior. I note the contents and appreciate the clear manner in which you have set out the Government's position.

One or two matters arise from the letter, however, which I hope you will allow me to bring to your attention. Firstly, could you tell me when the 'preliminary enquiry' being carried out by the New Zealand Maritime Department will be completed, and when Mr. Ridley will review it? Would you be so kind as to ask him to let Greenpeace know of his decision as soon as possible? If you prefer, I will of course write to him directly.

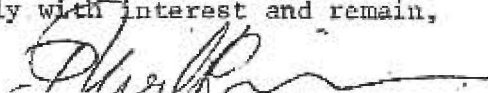
I appreciate the fact that under the Merchant Shipping Acts there is no obligation on the Government to carry out a separate enquiry, but the point now is, will you initiate legal proceedings against France in the event that the trial of the accused in New Zealand reveals that the attack was indeed carried out by French agents?

Lastly, I did ask in my letter of the 28th August if you would make available to us such information as you have to hand at the moment concerning this affair and you seem not to have addressed this point in your letter. As you must no doubt be aware, Greenpeace is currently reviewing its position legally and will be pursuing a course of action in the near future which could be influenced by such information which may be available from various sources. It would help our task greatly if you would provide us with such material as you have.

In closing, I would comment that whilst we obviously see the sense in not carrying out an enquiry in the UK if there is already one being carried out in New Zealand in which the UK is actively involved, this really is a separate matter from the eventual taking of any legal proceedings. Establishing the truth is one thing; bringing the culprits to account for their actions before the law is another thing entirely. Whilst it may be true that 'at this stage there is no need for separate proceedings here...' would you agree and perhaps indicate so in any subsequent reply to this letter, that this will not be the case should agents of the French Secret Service eventually be found guilty of the attack on our vessel and the death of our colleague? Greenpeace feels that it is in the interests of freedom of speech and indeed in the broad interests of the Government to make it clear to the public that it will spare no effort in ensuring that the full weight of the law is brought to bear on the culprits not only by New Zealand but by the UK as well, insofar as any attack on British registered vessels must be punished by a vigilant Government determined to stamp out international terrorism.

I await your reply with interest and remain,

Yours sincerely,



W RF 261/2

- 8 OCT 1985

140
See 141See further
submissions

Mr Derek Thomas

+pa

D 7/10

FROM: D J M Dain
Western European Department

DATE: 1 October 1985

cc: PS/Lady Young
PS/PUS
Dr Wilson
SPD
PUSD
News Dept
Legal Advisers
Claims Dept
MAED

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

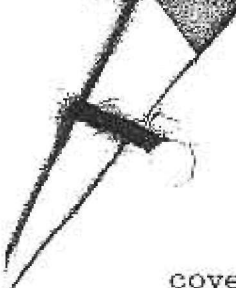
A 1. I submit a draft reply from the Secretary of State to the letter of 13 September from Mr Wilkinson, Director of Greenpeace. The draft has been cleared with SPD, PUSD, News Dept, Legal Advisers and Claims Dept - paragraph 2 has been cleared with the Department of Transport (who understand that the New Zealand maritime enquiry has in fact been completed, but do not wish to pre-empt any public announcement by the New Zealand authorities to this effect).

2. The statement by M. Fabius referred to in paragraph 3 of the draft was made in a television interview on 25 September. M. Fabius promised compensation for the family of Mr Pereira, the Dutch photographer who died in the incident, as a matter of top priority. He made no mention of compensation to any other parties.

3. The New Zealand authorities have not asked for any UK assistance in the preparation of claims against the French Government. However, New Zealand MFA officials told us recently that the New Zealand Government was contemplating composite action for compensation, taking in the violation of New Zealand's sovereignty, the damage to the Rainbow Warrior and the loss of a crew member's life. They said they would not wish to take action while the case in New Zealand was sub judice, but when they did they would probably seek to associate the British Government. The Secretary of State might be interested to see

B the exchange of minutes between SPD and the Legal Advisers

covering/



covering this and other legal aspects of the case - the Legal Advisers have after further consideration concluded that M. Fabius' claim that the agents concerned should not be tried as they were only obeying orders is unlikely to be upheld in court.

C 4. The previous exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr Wilkinson is attached.



D J M Dain

Mr. Dumas
Mr. Clarke

See submission

See 140

Mr Dain, WED

Dain 30/ix

+ pc
6/30/9.

Rainbow Warrior Affair:

The Secretary of State has now seen Paris telno 812, describing Sir John Fretwell's call on Boidevaix. When the Secretary of State saw Dumas in New York at the beginning of last week, Dumas said that it was perfectly normal for us to put in a Note about compensation and that the French Government would put all these claims together and try to deal with them in a rational way. In a legal sense, therefore, the claim has been at least orally served upon Dumas.

The Secretary of State's concern is of course to calm down the affair as soon as possible. It seems important not to let this astonishing set of exchanges become public. If there is anything the Department thinks the Secretary of State himself ought to do, I should be grateful for recommendations by this evening.

CR Budd

WRF 261/2

30 September 1985

(C R Budd)

3 OCT 1985

c.c:

PS/Lady Young

PS/PUS

Mr Derek Thomas

Mr Meyer, News Dept

CP 3/10

*Not on this happy
about these drafts.*

Minister

FROM: D J M DAIN
Western European Department

DATE: 27 September 1985

PS/LADY YOUNG

*Seen as
amended*

cc: PS

PS/PUS

Dr Wilson

Claims Department

SAfD

Protocol Department

SPD

News Department

Legal Advisers

Mr Thomas 4/10

Mr Clarke

*Letters have
issued*

D 4/10

p.c.

B 7/10

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR: MPS' LETTERS

- A 1. I submit draft replies to Sir Michael Shaw's letter of
B 12 September to Lady Young, and to Mr Jopling's secretary's
letter of 14 September to PS/Lady Young. The drafts draw
on previous replies to MPs' letters, updated as necessary in
the light of recent developments and cleared with SPD and
~~Legal Advisers. Paragraph 5 of the letter to Sir Michael Shaw~~
has been cleared with SAfD and Protocol Department.

D J M Dain

D J M Dain
Western European Department

Mr Christie

CONFIDENTIAL

J^{30/ix}

FROM: PS/LADY YOUNG
 DATE: 27 September 1985

See submission

cc: PS
 PS/PUS

Mr Derek Thomas o/r

+ pc

J^{30/ix}

WRF 261/2	
- 3 OCT 1985	
	CP 3/10

Mr Dain
 WED

GREENPEACE : POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL
 OF THE QUAI D'ORSAY

1. Lady Young has seen the telegram recording the French Ambassador's call on the PUS yesterday evening about the postponement of M. Ross's visit next week. She strongly agrees with the PUS that our reaction should be one of least said soonest mended.

S G Eldon

S G Eldon

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

leg: p. copy in
indicated below

132

Miss Taylor
South Pacific Dept

SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH NEW ZEALAND PREMIER :
"RAINBOW WARRIOR" - COMPENSATION

1. As requested I attach the Claims Department brief for the meeting on Monday. In view of the deadline it has been cleared orally with WED and Legal Advisers.

27 September 1985



A Ferguson
Claims Department

cc: Mr Clarke, WED

Mr Hill, Legal Advisers
Mr Wood, Legal Advisers
PS/Mr Eggar
PS/PUS
Mr Jenkins
Mr Barrington

Original on TPZ 27/7

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✓ *TM*

CONFIDENTIAL

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 APR 11 1964
 DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
 DEPT. OF JUSTICE
 DIVISION OF INVESTIGATION
 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
 Director
 Washington, D.C.

cc: PS/Lady Young
PS/PUS
Mr Furness (SPD)
Mr Roberts (News Dept)



Handed by PUS to
M. V. 104
on 25 September

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office present their compliments to the French Embassy and have the honour to refer to the sinking of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior.

Enter per

Bx/8

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office, having noted the statement made by the French Government on 22 September, wish to remind the French authorities of the British Government's locus standi in the matter since the 'Rainbow Warrior' is a British ship. The British Government view the incident with much concern and expect the French authorities to give swift and favourable consideration to compensating those who have suffered losses as a result of it.

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office take this opportunity to renew to the French Embassy the assurances of their highest consideration.

WRF 261/2	
26 SEP 1985	
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	CP 261



25 September 1985

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

CONFIDENTIAL

FP2 17511	
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27 SEP 1985	
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PS/Lady Young

126.
Miss Houghman
Please make
and distribute copies

4/27 214/4

FROM: D J M Dain
Western European Department

DATE: 24 September 1985

Copies already
sent to Private
Secretary - PS/PU

cc: *Private Secretary*
PS/Mr Eggar
PS/PUS
Dr Wilson
SPD
News Dept
PUSD
Legal Advisers
MAED
Claims Dept

Mr. Thompson
[Signature]

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

(21) A. v. per 27. 27

A.
B.
(NT)

1. I submit two draft telegrams, which covered points in Paris tel 787 and Wellington tel 272, set out our present thinking and inform posts of the statement by the FCO Spokesman on 24 September. *SPD and Legal Advisers agree.*

2. The drafts are for the most part self-explanatory. The reference to a possible request by the New Zealanders for concerted legal action arises from remarks made by New Zealand MFA officials in bilateral talks on 18 September. They said that the New Zealand government was thinking of making a composite claim against the French Government to cover all the losses incurred in the incident (violation of sovereignty, the sinking of the ship and the death of the crewman). The officials suggested that the New Zealand Government had in mind inviting other governments concerned including the UK to "associate themselves" with this claim.

[Signature]

D J M Dain

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Thompson
Mr. Evans
Let drawed with us -
her have advisers, apparently

118

FROM: MR DAIN But a robust line
Western European Dept

DATE: 23 September 1985

cc: Private Secretary

Compensation

PS/LADY YOUNG

PS/Mr Eggar

PS/PUS

Dr Wilson

SPD

PUSD

News D

MAED

r pm - 237

TP2 175/1		
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GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

Problem

1. What action should we take in response to the French Government's admission that agents of the DGSE (French External Intelligence Service) were responsible for the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior?

Recommendation

2. I recommend that, in answer to questions, News Department should take the line proposed at Annex A. I further recommend that we urge the French to give swift and favourable consideration to the matter of compensation by:

- i) the PUS summoning the French Ambassador in London and delivering a note verbale;
- ii) HM Ambassador Paris approaching the Quai at a senior level to deliver a similar note;
- iii) the Secretary of State speaking to M Dumas in the margins of the UNGA in New York.

I submit a draft note verbale and a draft telegram to New York.

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3. News Department have received a number of requests for Ministerial interviews. I recommend against giving any such interviews at this stage - News Department concur.

D J M Dain

CONFIDENTIAL

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

LINE FOR FCO SPOKESMAN

1. The British Government views with the gravest concern acts such as the sinking of the British ship Rainbow Warrior wherever they may occur and whoever may commit them.
2. We hope that the French authorities, having admitted responsibility, will act swiftly to compensate those who have suffered in this affair.
3. (If asked about a specific claim by the British Government)
There is no case for the British Government as such making a claim against the French - it is primarily a matter for Greenpeace and the family of the Dutch crew member who was killed. We should however give Greenpeace appropriate diplomatic support.

CONFIDENTIAL

DRAFT NOTE VERBALE

[Normal beginning] ... to the French Embassy/French Ministry of External relations ...

and have the honour to refer to the sinking of the Greenpeace ship "Rainbow Warrior".

The Foreign and Commonwealth Office/British Embassy having noted the statement made by the French Government on 22 September, wish to remind the French authorities of the British Government's close interest in the matter since the "Rainbow Warrior" is a British ship. The British Government view the incident with much concern and expect the French authorities to give swift and favourable consideration to compensating those who have suffered losses/ as a result of it.

[Normal ending]



SAJ 100
AS
PS/Adm Y

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

12 September 1985

Dear Peter,

Mr Tark
Dr Wilson
WED

RAINBOW WARRIOR

I enclose a copy of Mr. Lange's reply to the Prime Minister's recent message agreeing to provide the services of a British Mine Clearance Diving Officer.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

FPZ AS/1	
IN REPLY/No. 52	
13 SEP 1985	
PA	✓
gms onwch Charles Powell	

P.F. Ricketts, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



New Zealand High Commission

New Zealand House
Haymarket
London SW1Y 4TQ
Telephone 01-930 8422
Telex 24368

100

Reference:

12 September 1985

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher FRS MP
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
Whitehall
SW1A

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been asked to pass the following message to you from the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Rt Hon David Lange:

"Dear Prime Minister

I would like to thank you for your personal message concerning the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior and for your agreement to our request for the services of a British Mine Clearance Diving Officer. The New Zealand Police believe that such an expert will be of great assistance to them in their investigations.

I have noted that you have no objection to your expert giving evidence in Court. This is much appreciated. I agree with you that in the circumstances we should make our original request and your response public.

I would like to thank you once again for your prompt and forthcoming action on this matter.

I too am looking forward to our meeting in October at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting.

With best wishes.

David Lange"

Yours sincerely,

N D Walter

(N D Walter)
Acting High Commissioner

CONFIDENTIAL

Chancery, Paris (9)
+ return to me

M. Dumas 6AM 11/9
Mr. Gales

Copy to News Dept. Spoken to Mr. Mac
Agreed no need
to pursue

Mr. Dain, WED

WRF 26 1/2

11/9

GREENPEACE

25 SEP 1985

1. M. Dumas had a word with the Secretary of State on 9 September, in the margins of the Political Cooperation dinner in Luxembourg, about the latter's message to him over the Rainbow Warrior.
2. M. Dumas said that he would like to help but was not sure how best this could be done. The French could hardly go further than what was said in the Tricot Report at this stage. The Secretary of State said that he thought it perfectly consistent with the Tricot Report for the French Government to say that they did not believe there was any UK involvement in the affair. M. Dumas said that the French were of course ready to repeat the assurances which the Secretary of State had given. The Secretary of State said that that would not help: the French themselves must state their own view.
3. M. Dumas ended by saying somewhat lamely that perhaps our "experts" should get together.

Michael Jenkins

M R H Jenkins

11 September 1985

cc: Mr Burton, SCD
Mr Short, PUSD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to: Mr. Vanden, Paris

Mr. Jones TAS 6/9
Ent.
Mr. Dumas
JAN 6/9
(40)

WRF 261/2

7 SEP 1985

From: M R H Jenkins

Date: 5 September 1985

cc: PS
Mr Goodall
SPD
Defence Dept
Mr Roberts, News Dept

Mr Munro

RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. In his minute of 5 September, Mr Ricketts said that the Secretary of State would be grateful if I could have a word with the French Ambassador to make clear the serious view we took of stories which continue to emanate from French sources alleging British involvement in the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.

2. I rang the French Ambassador this afternoon and made the following points:

- i. As the Ambassador might know, the Secretary of State had spoken to M. Dumas about the Rainbow Warrior when they recently met in France. The Secretary of State had made clear that the allegations of British involvement were unfounded and M. Dumas had accepted this.
- ii. We were accordingly disturbed by the fact that stories of British involvement continued to circulate in both the French and the British press. Moreover, a distorted version of the exchange between the Secretary of State and M. Dumas had now appeared in the Paris newspaper "Liberation" alleging that a deal had been struck under which M. Dumas had apologised for the disinformation campaign in return for an undertaking by the Secretary of State not to hold any inquiry into British involvement. The FCO spokesman had today denied this story on the record and had said that, firstly, the Secretary of State had made clear to M. Dumas that there was no British involvement and that, secondly, M. Dumas had entirely accepted this.
- iii. As regards the continuing stories of British involvement, we much hoped that the French spokesmen would make clear that the French Government did not accept or believe these stories. I hoped this could be said in both London and Paris by the French.

iv. We were doing our best to prevent these continuing rumours from blowing up into an Anglo-French "affaire". In this respect we were fortunate that Parliament was not at present sitting since Ministers would have been bound to make statements about the position and what they thought of anyone putting about such a tissue of nonsense. But we relied on the French to do what they could to put an end to all this.

3. The Ambassador readily accepted my remarks and said that he would report to Paris both the comments made today by the FCO spokesman and the request that I was putting to him. For their part the French Embassy would certainly speak in the sense I had indicated in reply to any further questioning. He said that they had exactly the same interest as ourselves in not seeing these stories poison Anglo-French relations.

Michael Jenkins

M R H Jenkins

File 38

FROM: C A Munro
Western European Dept

DATE: 5 September 1985

Mr Jenkins

cc: Sir W Harding
Mr Goodall
Dr Wilson
Mr Barrington
Mr Chick, SPD
Mr Roberts, News Dept

THE SINKING OF THE BRITISH GREENPEACE SHIP "RAINBOW WARRIOR"

Problem

- A 1. The Private Secretary minuted that the Secretary of State would like to send a message to M Dumas today.

Recommendation

2. I recommend that the Secretary of State should send a message in terms of the attached draft. SPD and News Dept agree.

Colin A. Munro
C A Munro

Western European Department

WRF 261/2

- 5 SEP 1985

✓ 10 6/9

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DEFENCE DEPT
MR ROBERTS

Mr Munro, WED

Rainbow Warrior

85

The Secretary of State has seen the attached minute from Mr Roberts in News Department about the continuing evidence of mischievous briefing by the French Embassy here. The Secretary of State agrees with Mr Roberts that we should make clear to the French Embassy at senior level the serious view we take of this, despite M. Dumas's ready acceptance, during the discussions in Bordeaux, of the Secretary of State's clear statement that Britain had not been involved in any way. The Secretary of State would be grateful if Mr Jenkins, provided he sees no objection, could raise this question with the French Ambassador in the near future. It should also be mentioned in the message from the Secretary of State to Dumas which you are preparing. The Secretary of State would like to get that message off today if possible.

P F Ricketts

5 September 1985

(P F Ricketts)

- cc: Mr Goodall
Mr Jenkins
Mr Munro, WED
~~SPD~~
Defence Dept
Mr Roberts, News Dept

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(85)

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Private Secretary

Mr Goodall
Mr Jenkins
Mr Munro, WED
SPD
Defence Dept

P. 9. 9. 85 *John Gough*
(84)

RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. Mr Munro's minute of today's date provided in the points for discussion with the Prime Minister a reference to the Secretary of State's meeting with M. Dumas last month when he 'disowned French stories of British Intelligence involvement'. The Diplomatic Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph told me this afternoon that the French press stories were quite definitely based on official briefings not only in Paris but here in London. When I pressed him he made it very clear that the stories emanated from the French Embassy.

2. I believe that Mr Dain had lunch with the Number 2 in the Embassy last week and took the opportunity of expressing our displeasure at the continuing stories of MI6 involvement. HM Embassy in Paris have also been instructed to mention our irritation but have received assurances, for what they are worth, that the stories did not emanate from French official sources. Despite all these protestations of innocence, the cumulative evidence from many quarters of French official briefing now seems irrefutable. It may be the case that firmer action at a high level is now called for to ensure that this debilitating campaign of smear is stopped.

I A Roberts

I A Roberts

CONFIDENTIAL

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Mr Dain, WED

The Rainbow "Warrior" Affair

The Secretary of State has been reflecting on our policy and public posture on this subject. There are a number of different pieces of action in hand, and he wants to be sure that these are fully coordinated and reflect a consistent approach.

He believes that it is important that we should avoid (as we have successfully done so far) this affair developing into an Anglo-French row. On the other hand, he thinks that if Parliament had been sitting we would have come under much greater pressure to be doing something about a terrorist attack on a British-registered vessel in which one person died.

The Secretary of State would find it very useful to have an assessment of the policy options open to us, taking account of the views of the MOD and Department of Transport on aspects of concern to them. This should consider the pros and cons of continuing with our present very low key approach, and of raising our public profile somewhat in a way consistent with our objectives in Parliament and in relations with New Zealand and France. This policy appraisal would then enable us to follow through on the operational issues which are outstanding:

- (i) The Prime Minister's reply to Mr Lange. As you know the Secretary of State agreed with the terms of the draft reply from the Prime Minister submitted last week, which accepted the New Zealand request for assistance with a Navy diving expert. Since then Mr Heseltine has had some doubts which will need to be resolved before the draft can be put to the Prime Minister.
- (ii) The reply to the letter from Greenpeace. That would provide a natural opportunity to put our views on public record in more detail (eg welcoming Mr Lange's declared intention to bring those responsible to justice; M. Fabius' endorsement of this etc.).
- (iii) A message from the Secretary of State to Dumas. The Secretary of State thinks that it will be important at a later stage to be able to refer to contacts with the French at senior level. The message could refer to the Secretary of State's conversation with Dumas at Bordeaux in which Dumas readily accepted that the British had not been involved in the operation. It would also need to be carefully worded so as not to imply endorsement of the findings of the Tricot report.

.../It

It would be useful to have a policy submission along the lines set out above with drafts to Greenpeace and Dumas together with any other suggestions you or others may have for the weekend box.

P F Ricketts

4 September 1985

(P F Ricketts)

c.c.:

PS/Mr Renton

Sir W Harding

Mr Derek Thomas

Mr Jenkins

Dr Wilson

PUSD

~~SPD~~

Defence Dept

News Dept

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: I A Roberts
News Department

DATE: 30 August 1985

cc : Mr Thompson, SPD
Mr Dain, WED
Mr Alston, Defence De
PUSD

Sir W Harding

RAINBOW WARRIOR - NEW ZEALAND REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE

1. I should record that at today's press conference BBC radio asked whether we had received any request for assistance from the New Zealand Government to which he replied "not as far as I am aware". In view of the request reported in SPD's submission of today's date which I have just seen, I very much endorse the recommendation that we should be able to publicise the request and our positive response to it as soon as possible.

I A Roberts

I A Roberts

CONFIDENTIAL

pa (NL)
 TMS
 2/9

wer 26b

M. J. M. 2/9
 M. J. M. 2/9
 2/8

Mr Jenkins

FROM: D J M 2/9
 Western European Department

DATE: 30 August 1985

cc: Mr Goodall
 Mr Chick, SPD
 Mr Short, PUSD
 Mr Roberts, News Dept
 Mr Williams, Dept of Transport,
 Sunley House

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR: TRICOT REPORT

1. I submit the French text of the report by M. Bernard Tricot on the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior. I attach
 A B the comment from our posts in Paris and Wellington and
 C D their account of local press reaction. I attach also the
 statements by M. Fabius and Mr Lange on the report.

2. M. Tricot has concluded (lines 3-7, Page 5) that he does not believe that there was any official French responsibility for the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.
 By this he apparently intends to exonerate at least the government and senior officials in the DGSE. M. Tricot also concludes (Page 28) that

- a) all he had heard and seen made him certain that at the governmental level no decision had been taken in the sense that the Rainbow Warrior should be damaged and that this year, as previously, the government's policy had been exactly the opposite.
- b) There was no reason to think (and strong reasons to believe the contrary) that the DGSE had given agents in New Zealand instructions other than in the direction of carrying out correctly government directives.
- c) That subject to procedures in New Zealand and though he could not pronounce with certainty, he believed in the innocence of the "Turenge" couple; and that on the information available to him he believed the same of the crew of the Ouvca.

3. M. Tricot admits the limitations on his ability to conduct a full enquiry and makes clear that his judgments are based on the limited facts available to him. Nevertheless his failure to support his "beliefs" with evidence is the main weakness of the report and lends weight to the criticisms of it as a whitewash.

4. The media here and MPs focussed on M. Tricot's remark (commenting to newsmen in answer to a question) that he did not regard the involvement of British Intelligence as impossible. In the report itself he speaks of various possibilities (other than French involvement) which might explain the sinking including "other Secret Services" but describes these as only "suppositions". This is consistent with his method throughout, which (last line of page 3) was to exclude no hypothesis however improbable.

5. I draw attention also to the following features of the report:

- i) The Defence Minister, M. Hernu, escapes responsibility. There is no documentary evidence of his involvement in the affair. His instructions to the DGSE were oral: apparently the usual procedure;
- ii) it is clear that the French were engaged in a major surveillance/spying operation against Greenpeace and that they deployed agents to New Zealand for this purpose;
- iii) among the agents were people with the technical expertise to place mines (graduates of the Corsica Underwater Combat Establishment);
- iv) the DGSE is said to be better run and has better morale than previously but there is considerable room for improvement;
- v) M. Tricot does not exclude the possibility that he has been lied to (page 15) and he regards his report as an incomplete account which should be followed up by a more detailed investigation in France (page 29);

vi) although M. Tricot "believes" in the innocence of the DGSE agents, he admits (middle of page 19) that the reasons for thinking that the crew of the Ouvea were responsible for the attack was "not negligible".

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D J M Dain'. The signature is stylized with a large, looping 'D' and 'J' at the beginning, followed by 'M' and 'Dain'.

D J M Dain

cc
PUSV
SPD
SAND
News D
Planning Staff
Info

PS
PS / Mr Riffkind
PS / PUS

pl. send this to - Charge
Roger Clarke Esq, Hope
WED, FCO, who can (please) de Reynolds
copy as necessary to others in FCO.

Paris, le 25 août 1985

Gifford 26/8

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

Par votre lettre du 8 août vous m'avez demandé de "réunir dans un rapport les éléments de toute nature sur l'affaire du Rainbow Warrior afin de (vous) indiquer de la façon la plus nette si les agents, services ou autorités françaises ont pu être informés de la préparation d'un attentat criminel où même y participer".

Si je n'attends pas plus longtemps pour établir mon rapport et vous le remettre, ce n'est pas surtout pour répondre aux impatiences qui se manifestent dans l'opinion (mon enquête aura duré moins de 17 jours), ce n'est pas seulement parce que la coexistence avec les autorités gouvernementales, judiciaires, administratives et militaires normalement compétentes et d'un enquêteur chargé par vous d'une mission très exceptionnelle risquerait, en se prolongeant, de nuire au bon fonctionnement des services, mais c'est surtout parce que je crois avoir entendu toutes les personnes qu'il était vraiment utile que j'entende et qu'un plus long délai aurait peu de chance de m'apporter, sauf à attendre sans doute longtemps, des éléments nouveaux.

Ce rapport vous dira :

- quelle méthode j'ai suivie avec le concours de Monsieur François BERNARD,
- ce que j'ai compris au sujet de l'attitude du Gouvernement français à l'égard des actions de GREENPEACE

.../...

dans le Pacifique Sud

- les mesures que, dans le cadre de cette politique gouvernementale, la Direction des centres d'essais nucléaires a proposé au Ministre de la Défense de prendre ou de faire prendre,

- les directives données par ce Ministre au Directeur Général de la Sécurité extérieure, l'Amiral LACOSTE,

- comment ces directives ont été comprises et transmises au sein de cette direction,

- ce que j'ai pu apprendre au sujet de ceux des agents de la DIRCEN, autres que l'équipage de l'OUVEA, qui ont été envoyés en Nouvelle Zélande,

- ce que j'ai pu apprendre au sujet de l'équipage de l'OUVEA.

Je vous présenterai ensuite mes conclusions.

* * *

I - Méthode suivie

1) Manière pratique de procéder

a) Dans la mesure, malheureusement très limitée, où il existe des documents antérieurs aux faits et qui peuvent éclairer ceux-ci, je les ai exploités au maximum. J'ai tiré aussi parti des dépêches de nos représentants diplomatiques et de nos attachés militaires. Les informations et réflexions de la presse m'ont été utiles pour poser certaines questions.

b) J'ai vu, souvent en compagnie de Monsieur François BERNARD, plusieurs membres du Gouvernement, notamment Monsieur Charles HERNU, de qui dépend la DGSE, le Chef d'Etat Major des Armées, le Général SAULNIER, ancien Chef de l'Etat Major particulier du Président de la République, l'Amiral FAGES, qui était jusqu'à la fin

.../...

de juin 1985 à la tête de la Direction des centres d'essais nucléaires, l'Amiral LACOSTE et, au sein de la DGSE, le Secrétaire Général de celle-ci, le Préfet PARANT, le Général EMIN, Adjoint du Directeur, le Colonel LESQUER, chef du service Action et son subordonné, le Lieutenant Colonel FABERON, chef du service Opérations.

J'ai entendu aussi quelques autres collaborateurs de ce service et surtout des agents de celui-ci qui avaient été envoyés dans le Pacifique Sud.

J'ai prié Monsieur Roland DUMAS, Ministre des Relations Extérieures, de bien vouloir demander à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de la Nouvelle Zélande à Paris de me faire savoir si son Gouvernement pouvait m'adresser, sur la base de l'enquête engagée dans ce pays, des éléments d'information susceptibles de m'être utiles.

A la suite de cette démarche j'ai pris contact avec l'Ambassadeur qui m'a fourni certains éléments dont il a demandé qu'il ne soit pas fait état publiquement en raison de l'information judiciaire en cours en Nouvelle Zélande. C'est eu égard à cette demande qu'il n'est pas fait état dans ce rapport des éléments en question. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle il m'a semblé, tout en appréciant vivement l'obligeance de l'Ambassadeur et de son Gouvernement, que le dialogue devait être poursuivi par d'autres voies que par celle d'un enquêteur dont le rapport allait sans doute être rendu public.

c) Enfin une lacune considérable dans mon rapport résulte évidemment de ce que je n'ai pas pu avoir de contact, direct ou non, avec "le couple TURENGE".

2) Intellectuellement, je me suis efforcé d'appliquer les principes suivants :

a) N'écarter à priori aucune hypothèse, même la moins vraisemblable.

.../...

Parmi celles qui comporteraient une responsabilité officielle française, je citerai, aussi désagréable que cela puisse être :

- l'ordre donné au niveau gouvernemental de couler le RAINBOW WARRIOR,

- le fait, toujours au niveau gouvernemental, de ne pas donner expressément cet ordre, mais de laisser entendre aux chefs militaires ou civils compétents qu'un débordement des instructions ouvertement données ne serait pas désapprouvé,

- l'ambiguïté involontaire dans les instructions gouvernementales (qui, dans ces matières, ne sont pas écrites), cette ambiguïté ayant pu provoquer de bonne foi chez les subordonnés une interprétation des instructions toute différente de celle que le Gouvernement avait dans l'esprit,

- une désobéissance consciente au sein de la hiérarchie parisienne de la DGSE,

- une désobéissance au niveau des agents envoyés sur place et qui pourrait avoir été due à des manoeuvres politiques, à une hostilité personnelle à l'égard de GREENPEACE, à la légèreté et à la gloriole d'hommes qui auraient été tentés de "faire un coup", ou encore à une infiltration par des tiers qui auraient fait croire à nos agents que les directives avaient changé et qu'il s'agissait maintenant de couler le bateau.

b) Un second principe était de me garder de tout à priori, de tout préjugé, ainsi que de tout sentiment envers les personnes concernées par mon enquête. Cela ne signifie pas que j'ai négligé les facteurs psychologiques permettant de supposer raisonnablement que telle personne a eu dans certaines circonstances un certain comportement.

c) J'ai enfin veillé à bien distinguer ce qui

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est une certitude prouvée et ce qui relève de ce que l'on croit avec une conviction plus ou moins ferme.

Les certitudes, hélas, sont minces, je vous les exposerai, comme je vous ferai part de ce que je crois.

En peu de mots et sans plus attendre, je dirai que dans l'état actuel de mes informations je ne crois pas qu'il y ait eu responsabilité officielle française.

II La position du Gouvernement face au projet de GREENPEACE

Quand il a commencé à avoir connaissance des projets de Greenpeace pour l'été de 1985 dans le Pacifique Sud le gouvernement ne s'est pas trouvé devant une situation réellement nouvelle.

Dans les années 70 puis en 1981 et 1982, ce mouvement avait organisé des campagnes comportant, spécialement au cours de ces deux années, des tentatives de débarquement à MURUROA. Des incidents s'étaient produits quand la Marine Nationale avait intercepté des bateaux de GREENPEACE. Les choses s'étaient ensuite calmées et aucun fait notable ne se produisit en 1983 et 1984.

Ce n'est, bien sûr, pas pour vous, mais pour le public, que je rappellerai les grandes lignes de la politique gouvernementale :

- s'informer d'une façon précise quant aux intentions de GREENPEACE et connaître le nombre et l'identité des bateaux susceptibles de faire partie d'une expédition;

- empêcher des débarquements sur l'atoll, tout en évitant le plus possible des incidents ;

- renforcer les précautions tendant à éviter que nos essais exposent les populations de la région à des risques directs ou indirects, immédiats ou lointains;

- fournir des explications au public, inviter à MURUROA une délégation de savants français, organiser notamment la visite en Octobre 1983 de plusieurs

personnalités scientifiques françaises sous la conduite du Haut-Commissaire à l'Energie Atomique ;

- inviter, ce qui fut fait en 1984, des savants étrangers (originaires de pays indépendants du Pacifique Sud), à venir s'assurer des précautions prises en en apprécier les résultats. De fait, ce fut un rapport nettement favorable que celui de la Commission présidée par M. ATKINSON, directeur du laboratoire national des radiations de Christchurch. Ce rapport fut publié le 9 juillet 1984.

2) L'annonce de la reprise des manifestations de GREENPEACE irrita certainement un grand nombre de militaires et de civils qui s'occupent, en France ou sur place, du Centre d'Essais du Pacifique et qui ne sont pas les seuls à reprocher à ce mouvement son manque d'indépendance et d'impartialité.

Mais les propositions des services restèrent dans la ligne de ce qui avait été fait jusque là.

3) Le Directeur du Centre d'Essais nucléaire, l'Amiral FAGES, avec qui je me suis entretenu au cours de cette enquête et qui m'a remis ou fait remettre plusieurs documents, avait rendu compte le 4 Mars dernier à Monsieur Charles HERNU de ce qu'il savait alors des projets de GREENPEACE. Il dit au Ministre que l'action éventuelle de ce mouvement pourrait se dérouler le 24 juin, pendant qu'aurait lieu à TAHITI un festival des arts du Pacifique. Il était question que GREENPEACE envoie vers MURUROA et FANGATOFA quatre bâtiments, dont le RAINBOW-WARRIOR et le VEGA. Ces bateaux stationneraient à la limite des eaux territoriales et des embarcations légères s'en détacheraient pour tenter de débarquer leurs passagers, parmi lesquels devaient se trouver des indépendantistes polynésiens.

Comme il était d'usage, l'Amiral remit au Cabinet du Ministre, quelques jours avant l'audience, un dossier relatif aux questions qu'il souhaitait voir évoquer. Les intentions de Greenpeace faisaient l'objet du point 5 et avant dernier de la note de synthèse datée du 1er mars, ainsi que d'une fiche sommaire dans laquelle l'Amiral insistait sur deux points:

- faire en sorte que les autorités et les forces françaises du Pacifique soient juridiquement fondées à empêcher l'accès aux eaux territoriales,
- intensifier la recherche de renseignements concernant la position et les déplacements des bateaux de GREENPEACE. Je reviendrai sur ces deux points, ainsi que sur les instructions données peu après par le Ministre au Directeur Général de la Sécurité extérieure.

4) L'Amiral se souvient d'avoir parlé des intentions de Greenpeace à l'Amiral LACOSTE à la fin de 1984 ou au début de 85. C'est, m'a-t-il dit, sous l'impression que la DGSE n'avait pas encore pris beaucoup d'initiatives au sujet de cette affaire, qu'il remit sa note à M. HERNU. Il fit aussi en sorte que le Comité interministériel qui se réunit à des intervalles irréguliers sur le sujet des sites lointains soit saisi de la question. Dans le dossier constitué en vue de la plus prochaine réunion de ce Comité, laquelle eut lieu le 26 avril, figurait une note de la DIRCEN en date du 26 mars. Les actions proposées à l'égard des initiatives contestataires étaient les suivantes :

- accepter des visites,
- prendre contact avec les autorités de pays étrangers,
- faire à l'égard de certains de nos "voisins" (les distances sont longues dans le Pacifique) divers gestes

de bonne volonté.

Il n'était fait aucune allusion à un acte quelconque de violence. Le ton de la note était calme et modéré.

5) C'est la même impression qui se dégage des documents relatifs à la première audience suivant celle du 14 mars que M. HERNU ait donnée à l'Amiral FAGES. Cet entretien eut lieu le 23 mai. Une fiche en date du 14 mai, remise, comme celle du 1er mars, au Ministre, et qui avait pour objet la contestation de nos expérimentations faisait état :

- de l'urgence de prendre des dispositions juridiques des besoins en renforts techniques pour mieux intercepter les communications radio entre les unités de la flotille qui devaient se diriger vers Mururoa ;

- de l'opportunité d'envoyer en POLYNESIE des commandos de la Marine spécialisés dans l'intervention à l'égard de bateaux de taille moyenne ou petite, afin d'empêcher des débarquements :

- de la préparation "de compléments aux argumentaires adressés à nos Ambassadeurs" et de l'opportunité d'entreprendre "des actions d'informations ou de présence auprès de certains Etats du Pacifique Sud.

La note révélait des préoccupations, car il n'est pas facile d'intercepter pacifiquement un nombre élevé d'embarcations, mais elle ne trahissait aucun nervosité. La nature des demandes montrait au contraire que les autorités ne s'attendaient pas à ce que l'expédition écologiste fut empêchée de quitter la Nouvelle-Zélande, où il était prévu qu'elle se rassemblerait pour partir vers la Polynésie. C'est bien à son arrivée qu'il s'agissait de la contrecarrer. Cette impression est confirmée par une fiche de la DIRCEN en date du 26 mai qui précisait les propositions de la note du 23 mai. Cette fiche recommandait :

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- une fois de plus, l'intervention du texte réglementaire,
- la recherche accrue du renseignement "sur les hommes et sur les matériels, en particulier de transmission",
- l'attribution de moyens pour intercepter les communications UHF et VHF entre les éléments de la future flotille, - la préparation d'interventions dans les eaux territoriales françaises contre les tentatives de débarquement,
- et, si certains groupes de personnes réussissaient à débarquer, l'arrestation des intrus et la confiscation des matériels photo, vidéo, etc.

7) La DIRCEN obtint satisfaction sur au moins deux points, ceux qui avaient été évoqués lors du Comité gouvernemental du 26 avril.

a) Après de longues discussions entre les
Départements de la Défense, des Relations Extérieures et de la Mer, l'acte juridique demandé par l'Amiral FAGES fut pris sous forme d'un arrêté du Haut-Commissaire de la République en Polynésie française, en date du 23 mai 1985.

Cet arrêté, publié au Journal Officiel de la Polynésie, suspend à titre temporaire l'exercice du droit de passage inoffensif dans les eaux territoriales bordant les atolls de Mururoa et de Fangatofa. Il interdit jusqu'à la fin des expérimentations la navigation de bateaux étrangers dans ces eaux.

Cet arrêté est fondé sur le décret du 6 février 1985 portant réglementation du passage des navires étrangers dans nos eaux territoriales, dont l'article 6 prévoit la possibilité, notamment quand cette mesure est indispensable pour permettre de procéder à des essais d'armes, de suspendre l'exercice du droit de passage inoffensif des navires étrangers. Ce texte reprend des dispositions de

l'article 25, paragraphe 3, de la Convention des Nations Unies du 10 décembre 1983 sur le droit de la mer.

b) Le second résultat obtenu par la DIRCEN avait été l'instruction donnée par le Ministre de la Défense le 4 mars au Directeur Général de la Sécurité extérieure d'intensifier la recherche de renseignements. Comme il s'agissait d'envoyer plusieurs agents dans le Pacifique Sud et, pour les raisons qui seront dites plus loin, de louer un bateau, la dépense était de celles qui dépassaient les charges courantes du service et qui donnent lieu à l'allocation de fonds exceptionnels. Cette attribution fut demandée et accordée dans les conditions normales, c'est-à-dire avec l'accord du Chef de l'Etat Major particulier du Président de la République. J'ai vu le Général SAULNIER, qui exerçait à l'époque ces fonctions, et qui se souvient bien que l'affaire lui avait été soumise, qu'il s'agissait uniquement d'accroître l'effort de renseignement et qu'il donna son accord.

8) Quand l'Amiral FAGES quitta ses fonctions, il laissa au nouveau Directeur des Centres d'Essais nucléaires un mémorandum, daté du 30 juin 1985 dont l'un des points concernait l'opération Greenpeace. Il écrivait ceci, (je résume sans changer en rien le sens):

- Aspects juridiques : interdiction publiée le 20 juin 1985 de l'Arrêté interdisant l'accès aux eaux territoriales des deux atolls ;

- Information de la DGSE sur cette affaire ;

- Préparation opérationnelle : interception radio électrique et brouillage, intervention de spécialistes marine (il s'agissait des commandos dont il a été précédemment question), formation de personnels d'intervention qui a été demandée au Centre d'Essais du Pacifique ;

- Autorisation éventuelle aux contestataires de visiter la base vie de Mururoa ;

- recommandation de faire attention au pavillon du chalutier contestataire et de notamment veiller, au cas probable où il serait britannique, à éviter les susceptibilités de la Grande Bretagne.

On voit que ce document était en harmonie avec les positions prises par le Gouvernement.

En fut-il de même pour les instructions données par Monsieur HERNU à l'Amiral LACOSTE ?

III - Les directives du Ministre de la Défense au Directeur Général de la Sécurité extérieure .

Selon l'habitude dans les relations entre le Ministre et le Directeur, ces instructions ont été pour l'essentiel orales. Or il se trouve que c'est dans la mesure où elles ont été appuyées par un écrit qu'une question m'a paru pendant plusieurs jours se poser.

1) Ce que m'ont dit, lors de mes premiers entretiens, Monsieur HERNU puis l'Amiral LACOSTE.

Pour le Ministre, les directives verbales consistaient exclusivement à intensifier la collecte de renseignements. Pour l'Amiral LACOSTE, il s'agissait d'un peu plus : la recherche des renseignements pouvait ne pas se faire seulement de l'extérieur, elle pouvait comporter l'infiltration de certains agents dans l'organisation en cause. En outre, ces agents pouvaient être invités à réfléchir aux voies et moyens propres à contrecarrer l'action de cet organisme.

Je dis bien "réfléchir", nullement passer aux actes, même s'il s'agissait simplement d'actes ne comportant aucune violence.

Il y avait tout de même là une nuance qui me préoccupait :

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si une ambiguïté, même légère, s'était glissée dans la transmission des ordres au sommet de la hiérarchie, jusqu'où les choses avaient elles pu aller au fur et à mesure que les ordres descendaient ?

2) Je compris mieux l'origine de ce qui m'inquiétait quand mes deux interlocuteurs, que j'ai toujours vus séparément, m'apprirent que le Ministre, à l'appui de ses directives à l'Amiral, avait montré, mais point remis, à ce dernier la note de l'Amiral FAGES en date du 1er mars.

Or le dernier alinéa de cette note (après celui où il était question du futur arrêté gubernatorial), était ainsi conçu : "Par ailleurs, une intensification de la recherche de renseignements concernant la position et les déplacements du VEGA et du RAINBOW WARRIOR a été suggérée afin de prévoir et anticiper les actions de GREENPEACE". Sur l'original que Monsieur HERNU m'a montré le verbe "anticiper" était souligné deux fois.

Anticiper, qu'est-ce à dire ?

Ce n'est pas seulement prévoir, ce qui aurait d'ailleurs introduit un pléonasme dans la note.

Dans l'emploi transitif du verbe, anticiper c'est devancer ou prévenir.

Cette prévention ne pouvait-elle pas aller jusqu'à accomplir des actes de nature à empêcher physiquement l'un au moins des bateaux de quitter la Nouvelle Zélande ?

Monsieur HERNU, à qui j'ai fait part de mes doutes, a maintenu son interprétation : il s'agissait seulement de se renseigner, ce qui pouvait toutefois comporter une infiltration. L'Amiral LACOSTE a confirmé la sienne : c'était un peu plus, mais en aucun cas passer aux actes, même s'il s'agissait seulement de "méthodes douces". Quant à l'Amiral FAGES, auteur involontaire de cette

difficulté, il m'a affirmé qu'il s'était bien agi d'une redondance et qu'en tout cas il n'avait jamais eu la pensée de proposer de passer aux actes et encore moins à des actes de violence. Au total, ce sont les souvenirs de l'Amiral LACOSTE qui me semblent les plus exacts. Il est d'ailleurs normal qu'une telle affaire ait occupé dans son esprit une place plus large que dans celui du Ministre. [Monsieur Charles HERNU s'est senti moins préoccupé par les projets de GREENPEACE au fur et à mesure que le temps passait. Sans doute le VEGA, venant d'Australie, était-il à AUCKLAND depuis le 29 avril. Quant à lui, le RAINBOW WARRIOR, qui avait quitté JACKSONVILLE (Floride) le 15 mars 1985, était arrivé à HONOLULU le 18 avril, puis avait repris la mer le 29 avril en direction des îles MARSHALL. Il avait procédé là-bas à l'évacuation (environ 300 personnes)

de la population d'un îlot contaminé jadis par des essais américains et l'avait installée sur le grand atoll de KUEXYERI dans l'immense lagon duquel l'armée américaine effectue des tirs. Le RAINBOW WARRIOR s'était ensuite rendu dans un autre archipel et il devait arriver à AUCKLAND le 7 juillet. Il était commandé par un Américain qui était embarqué sur ce bâtiment depuis 1981. L'équipage était d'une douzaine de personnes. Une demi-douzaine de journalistes étaient à bord.

Mais le rassemblement de la flotille et la constitution des équipages n'allaient pas sans difficulté. La participation de plusieurs bâtiments, d'abord annoncée, devenait incertaine. L'échéance prévue pour fin juin, puis pour le mois de juillet (liée à la réunion du Forum du Pacifique Sud), ne paraissait pas pouvoir être tenue. La série de tirs allait en outre s'achever.

Bientôt sans doute la période délicate serait passée.

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IV - La transmission des instructions à l'intérieur des services centraux de la DGSE.

Dès qu'il a pris ses fonctions, en novembre 1982, l'Amiral LACOSTE a veillé à faire respecter dans le service une stricte discipline militaire. Ce n'avait pas toujours été le cas auparavant.

Le service, qui avait vécu des périodes difficiles et bien des changements, de personnes, avait connu des temps de relâchement dans l'application des principes militaires. Ce que j'ai pu observer, et surtout des témoignages extérieurs plus valables que le mien, m'ont confirmé dans le sentiment que la DGSE agissait maintenant selon des règles plus classiques qu'à une certaine époque.

2) Je me suis entretenu, parfois ensemble, le plus souvent séparément avec :

- L'Amiral LACOSTE,
- Le Préfet PARANT, Secrétaire Général, auprès duquel je me suis surtout informé de la procédure financière,
- Le Général EMIN, Adjoint au Directeur Général, en fonction depuis janvier 1983,
- Le Colonel LESQUER, Chef du service Action, en fonctions depuis le 1er décembre 1984, mais qui était affecté à la DGSE depuis le 1er juin de la même année,
- Le Lieutenant Colonel FABERON qui, lui, avait 9 ans d'ancienneté à la DGSE. Il était, au sein du service Action responsable des opérations.

Il faut préciser que ce service, qui avait été chargé par l'Amiral LACOSTE de mettre en oeuvre les directives reçues du Ministre, a notamment pour rôle de participer à la recherche des renseignements en des endroits où la DGSE n'a pas de structure permanente de recherche. C'est le cas pour la Nouvelle Zélande.

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Ce fait contribue à exclure la supposition, totalement contraire à la discipline interne de la direction, mais qui m'était venue un moment à l'esprit, que deux services distincts de la DGSE, travaillant sur le même terrain, auraient pu être portés par un sentiment de rivalité à outre-passer leur mission.

3) Les officiers que j'ai rencontrés m'ont tous donné une définition de cette mission entièrement conforme aux instructions reçues de leurs supérieurs.

Je suis, bien sûr, obligé de ne pas exclure l'hypothèse où ces officiers se seraient concertés pour me taire une partie de la vérité.

Je dois aussi ne pas laisser de côté le cas où les libellés des missions confiées aux agents, qui m'ont été montrés, ne seraient pas complets ou auraient été accompagnés de commentaires verbaux qui en auraient altéré le sens. Mais cette hypothèse pessimiste me paraît exclue à la fois par la formation de ces officiers, leur caractère, tels que nos entretiens me l'ont fait apparaître, leur appréciation entièrement négative des conséquences qu'auraient pour notre pays des initiatives violentes prises par des services contre GREENPEACE, spécialement dans des pays amis comme l'est la Nouvelle Zélande.

La façon dont la DGSE a compris son rôle et a défini les modalités selon lesquelles les agents rempliraient leurs missions me paraît donc avoir été conforme aux directives reçues par ce service.

V - Les agents de la DGSE

Il s'agit des agents qui ont été chargés de missions concernant, au moins partiellement, les projets de GREENPEACE et qui ont opéré en Nouvelle-Zélande. Je me suis intéressé aussi à un agent qui, à NOUMEA, a joué un

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rôle secondaire dans les préparatifs du départ de l'OUVEA vers la Nouvelle Zélande. Parmi les agents, mon enquête a porté principalement sur l'équipage de ce bateau.

A - Agents autres que les membres de l'équipage de l'OUVEA.

1) Je n'ai pas demandé à voir "Mme BONLIEU" qui était, ainsi que chacun le sait maintenant, chargée d'infiltrer le mouvement GREENPEACE en NouvelleZélande. Elle a été rappelée de ce pays, qu'elle a quitté le 24 mai 1985, c'est-à-dire bien avant l'arrivée du RAINBOW WARRIOR à AUCKLAND.

2) J'ai rencontré par contre "M.DUBAST", parce que sa mission à NOUMEA, du 9 au 14 juin, avait un certain lien avec les préparatifs de départ de l'OUVEA vers la Nouvelle-Zélande. Il s'agissait pour lui de s'assurer que le bateau et son équipage ne faisaient pas l'objet d'une surveillance suspecte. Cet agent a aperçu deux ou trois fois VELCHE et ses compagnons, sans toutefois les aborder. Il n'a rien constaté d'anormal autour d'eux et de leur bateau.

3) Aucun contact n'était, bien sûr, possible pour moi avec "les TURENGE", en réalité le chef de bataillon Alain MAFART né le 2 novembre 1950 et le capitaine Dominique PRIEUR, née le 21 juin 1949. Le libellé de leur mission, qui m'a été communiqué, était celui-ci:

- renseigner sur le nombre, les caractéristiques, le programme des bâtiments accompagnant le RAINBOW WARRIOR vers MURUROA,
- identifier le nouvel équipage éventuel du RAINBOW WARRIOR,
- identifier les personnalités politiques, scientifiques et journalistiques participant à la campagne,
- renseigner sur l'impact reçu en Nouvelle-Zélande.

Le libellé de cette mission porte la date du 14 juin. Le choix de deux officiers pour remplir ces tâches s'expliquait dans l'esprit du service par le fait qu'ils auraient à observer le RAINBOW WARRIOR ainsi qu'un certain nombre de personnages qui étaient à bord.

Il me paraît invraisemblable que les TURENGE aient participé directement ou indirectement à la pose de mines sous la coque du RAINBOW WARRIOR.

Directement :

- parce que Mme PRIEUR n'a jamais appartenu aux nageurs de combat et que des ennuis de colonne vertébrale lui rendent difficile de faire certains efforts,

- parce que le choix du Commandant MAFART pour aller poser des mines aurait été déraisonnable, s'agissant d'un officier qui était radié des nageurs de combat depuis 1983.

Une participation directe était moins invraisemblable: les TURENGE auraient observé en détail la configuration du port d'AUCKLAND, les habitudes de ceux qui le fréquentent, la façon dont la police fait son travail, puis, à partir du 7 juillet, ils auraient noté l'emplacement du RAINBOW WARRIOR et ils auraient fait part de leurs constatations à d'autres agents (dans cette hypothèse l'équipage de l'OUVEA) chargés, eux, de poser les mines.

Cette répartition des rôles aurait eu sa logique. Mais le montage d'un tel scénario aurait été contraire aux instructions reçues. Il supposait de la part des deux officiers une grande et étonnante indiscipline, dont leurs supérieurs les estiment incapables.

Ce processus n'aurait été possible que si Alain MAFART et Dominique PRIEUR avaient reçu instructions de le mettre en oeuvre. J'ai déjà dit les raisons pour lesquelles je ne crois pas qu'il en ait été ainsi.

Enfin, ces suppositions impliqueraient que les autres

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agents de la DGSE auraient accompli la partie matérielle de l'opération. La DGSE n'avait pas alors en Nouvelle-Zélande, outre "les TURENGE", d'autres agents que ceux qui composaient l'équipage de l'OUVEA. Il est temps de parler d'eux.

B - L'équipage de l'OUVEA

1) Qui sont ces hommes ?

Il s'agit de :

- de l'Adjudant chef Roland VERGE, qui a 15 ans de services militaires dont 11 à la DGSE. Il appartient au Centre d'instruction des nageurs de combat (CINC) à ASPRETTO, près d'AJACCIO ;
- de l'Adjudant ANDRIES (du CINC), qui a 10 ans de services dont 6 à la DGSE,
- de l'Adjudant BARTELO (du CINC), qui a 10 ans de services, dont 4 à la DGSE.

2) Quelle était leur mission ? Le libellé du 23 mai, dont il a été précédemment question, la définissait ainsi :

- 1 - s'entraîner à la navigation dans la zone du Pacifique Sud.
 - 2 - renseigner le Service sur le rassemblement de la flotille de GREENPEACE
 - 3 - étudier la possibilité de joindre un bateau aux campagnes à venir.
- Les points 1 et 3 étaient liés. Le Service ne disposait pas, outre M. VELCHE, qui avait beaucoup navigué, mais pas dans le Pacifique Sud, d'autres agents ayant la capacité de devenir chefs de bord dans cette zone sur des bateaux de faible tonnage. L'idée était qu'ils pourraient ainsi, soit faire participer un bateau aux expéditions futures, soit se faire choisir comme skipper d'un bateau de GREENPEACE.

Pour obtenir des résultats, il ne suffisait pas d'être de bons marins, il fallait connaître la zone et avoir commencé à s'y faire une réputation.

La partie de la côte néo-zélandaise à laquelle l'équipage de l'OUVEA devait s'intéresser était celle située entre le Cap Nord, à l'extrémité de l'Ile Nord, et un point qui se trouve à environ 25 kilomètres au nord d'AUCKLAND (Whangaparaoa).

Ils ne devaient pas se rendre à AUCKLAND. Leurs supérieurs m'ont expliqué que, conformément à des mesures de précautions classiques, les agents ignoraient la présence des deux officiers à AUCKLAND. Peut-être se doutaient-ils que d'autres qu'eux-mêmes étaient chargés de s'intéresser à ce port, mais ils ne devaient pas savoir de quelles personnes il s'agissait.

4 - Je me suis beaucoup intéressé à ce qu'ont pu faire ces trois agents.

a) Les raisons de supposer qu'ils ont été les auteurs de l'attentat ne sont pas négligeables. La considération la plus troublante est qu'aucun indice actuellement connu ne vient conforter l'idée que l'auteur, ou plutôt les auteurs, aient pu être d'autres qu'eux. Les possibilités sont à cet égard diverses, soit qu'on pense à l'action d'hommes isolés, mûs notamment par la passion politique, soit plutôt qu'on soupçonne d'autres services secrets d'avoir fait le coup. Les motifs qui ont pu inspirer les responsables de ces services ne manquent pas : nuire à Greenpeace, mouvement qui ne dérange pas seulement la FRANCE, nuire à notre pays, ou encore nuire à la fois à Greenpeace et à la FRANCE en nous faisant endosser la responsabilité de l'acte. Mais il ne s'agit là, du moins actuellement, que de suppositions. Si on est ainsi conduit à s'interroger fortement sur ce qu'ont pu faire les trois agents de la DGSE, il faut évidemment se garder d'y voir une preuve contre eux. Bien des innocents

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ont été suspectés à tort par l'effet d'une considération de ce genre.

Mais d'autres motifs de suspicion, inégalement sérieux, ont été invoqués :

- l'équipement de l'Ouvéa en moyens de navigation "Sat Nav" et de transmission ; mais ces équipements sont, pour les uns, devenus assez usuels, et la présence des autres s'explique par la nécessité pour l'équipage de pouvoir entrer en contact par radio avec la direction ;

- la formation très spécialisée des trois hommes, qui sont des nageurs de combat, donc experts en exercices tels que la plongée sous marine, la pose de mines, etc

- les nombreux indices relevés, d'après la presse, par la police néo-zélandaise (zodiac abandonné, bouteilles d'oxygène utilisées par la Marine Nationale et laissées à proximité de l'embarcation, etc.).

Je dois rappeler aussi que le respect de l'engagement pris envers l'Ambassadeur de Nouvelle-Zélande ne me permet pas de faire état d'autres éléments que celui-ci a bien voulu me communiquer. Ces éléments seront sans doute révélés, lors de l'audience prévue pour le 4 novembre et qui doit constituer une des phases de la procédure engagée contre le commandant MAFART et le Capitaine PRIEUR. Je dirai seulement que les indices connus et les éléments encore secrets méritent certes, d'être pris en sérieuse considération mais qu'il me paraissent troubler plus que convaincre. Pour ne parler que des indices rendus publics, bien des gens ont déjà observé que leur accumulation est surprenante. Parfois leur nature même a quelque chose d'étrange. Pourquoi, par exemple, avoir abandonné les bouteilles à oxygène et pourquoi avoir été dotés par le service de bouteilles de marque française alors que des équipements de marque étrangère étaient en stock ?

- Le kilométrage enregistré sur la voiture louée sur place par l'équipage a surpris : près de 1500 kilomètres.

.../...

Pourquoi de tels déplacements à terre ? Ne s'agissait-il pas d'aller à plusieurs reprises à Auckland et d'en revenir ?

Mais la mission comportait - j'y reviendrai - plusieurs séries d'observations du littoral, des ports et des bateaux au mouillage, qui devaient se faire depuis la terre.

b) Inversement, d'autres considérations plaident pour l'innocence :

- La faible durée de la coexistence en Nouvelle-Zélande, du Rainbow-Warrior et de l'Ouvéa. Le premier est arrivé le 7 juillet, le second est parti le 9 au matin. Effectuer la pose de mines en plein jour dans un port très fréquenté ne paraît guère praticable, même avec un équipement permettant de ne pas faire apparaître de bulles à la surface de l'eau.

Il reste deux nuits, celle du 7 au 8 et du 8 au 9. C'est peu, même en supposant une préparation de la tâche par "les Turenge".

- La cohérence entre la mission reçue par les trois hommes de l'équipage et leur comportement dans leur séjour en Nouvelle-Zélande. Chargés de connaître les milieux de la navigation de plaisance, de la pêche, du cabotage, ils devaient se mêler à la population et n'avoir en rien l'attitude d'agents secrets. Multiplier les preuves de leur passage n'offrait aucun inconvénient ; c'était au contraire conforme à leur personnage de jeunes hommes en vacances. C'était utile aussi pour être reconnus une autre année par ceux qu'ils auraient rencontrés et avec lesquels ils pouvaient souhaiter reprendre contact.

Que si, par contre ils étaient chargés ou se seraient eux-même chargés de couler le Rainbow Warrior, ce comportement devenait fort imprudent.

5 - Devant ces considérations contradictoires, j'ai jugé indispensable de rencontrer l'équipage de l'Ouvéa, ainsi que son passager, le Docteur MANIGUET.

a) Celui-ci n'a fait aucune difficulté pour venir me voir.

Pour ce qui est de sa personnalité, ce qu'il m'a dit et ce que j'ai pu observer confirment ce qui a été décrit à son sujet. Il ne me paraît pas utile d'y revenir ici, autrement que pour souligner le caractère direct de ses propos, la précision des informations données par lui et qu'il avait notées jour après jour sur son carnet, ainsi que l'aisance de son attitude au cours de notre entretien.

Les renseignements donnés par le Docteur MANIGUET, par le service central ainsi que par l'équipage de l'Ouvéa concordent très largement et les quelques nuances peuvent s'expliquer par la manière fréquemment différente qu'ont plusieurs personnes d'observer les mêmes choses.

Pour faire bref, le Docteur MANIGUET m'a confirmé qu'il avait fait part à des amis parisiens de son souhait de connaître le Pacifique Sud, en particulier l'archipel des Fidji, que ses amis lui avaient indiqué l'Agence Odyssee, que le directeur de celle-ci, M. LEROY, lui avait indiqué le 25 mai qu'un bateau allait bientôt partir de NOUMEA pour les régions qui l'intéressaient et qu'il pourrait, moyennant finance, s'y embarquer. Le skipper, M. VELCHE, était, ainsi que l'indiquait l'agence, un bon navigateur. L'accord fut conclu. Le Docteur MANIGUET partit quelques jours plus tard pour NOUMEA où VELCHE l'attendait à l'aéroport. Le bateau était "fin prêt" ; le moteur et les voiles avaient été révisés et le Docteur MANIGUET ne fut pas surpris par l'équipement, qu'il jugea normal. Rien d'insolite ne lui apparut au cours des entretiens avec ses nouveaux compagnons. Ceux-ci lui expliquèrent qu'ils cherchaient quelqu'un qui tint du "sponsor" et du client,

.../...

et qu'ils l'avaient trouvé en lui.

La seule ombre fut que le Docteur Maniguet aurait souhaité se diriger tout de suite vers les FIDJI, alors que VELCHE, insista pour mettre d'abord le cap vers le nord de la Nouvelle Zélande, ce qui fut finalement décidé. L'OUVEA quitta Nouméa le 13 juin à la mi-journée. Le récit du Docteur MANIGUET se confond largement pour la suite avec celui des membres de l'équipage.

b) Rencontrer ceux-ci ne me fut pas difficile, mais posa sans doute des problèmes d'organisation à la DGSE. Les responsables du service m'expliquèrent que les trois hommes étaient en France, qu'ils étaient à la fois cachés et recherchés, qu'une rencontre, avec les déplacements qu'elle allait comporter pour eux, présenterait des risques. Mais je n'eus guère besoin d'insister pour que satisfaction me soit donnée. Ceux que j'appellerai encore VELCHE, AUDRENC, BARTELO et moi nous rencontrâmes au cours de la semaine qui s'achève. Je les vis quelques instants ensemble au début et à la fin de la rencontre, hors de la présence du Colonel LESQUER qui m'accompagnait et j'ai eu avec chacun d'eux des entretiens en particulier.

6 - Ce que j'appris cette fois là, confirmé par le Docteur MANIGUET, (sauf pour les périodes où il s'est séparé de l'équipage en Nouvelle-Zélande afin de parcourir le pays), peut se résumer ainsi :

a) La traversée de Nouméa à l'île de NORFOLK, entre la Nouvelle-Calédonie et la Nouvelle-Zélande, fut difficile, il fallut utiliser beaucoup le moteur dont le voilier était équipé. La halte à NORFOLK dura 2 jours, du 17 au 19. L'Ouvéa quitta Norfolk le 19 juin à 17 heures. Une tempête se déchaîna le 21 et les vents étaient encore violents lorsque les côtes du nord de la Nouvelle-Zélande furent en vue. VELCHE avait prévu de relâcher à PARENGARENGA,

.../...

au large duquel l'Ouvéa arriva le 22 juin. Des hauts fonds sablonneux, mal signalés sur les instructions nautiques que possédait l'équipage, faillirent faire échouer le bateau. VELCHE profita des vagues déferlantes pour faire donner le moteur chaque fois qu'il y avait assez d'eau, afin de progresser par bonds successifs. Il parvint ainsi à atteindre le petit port de PARENGARENGA. Cette performance surprit favorablement la population locale et entoura ainsi le skipper de considération et de sympathie.

Il n'y avait pas de service de douane à PARENGARENGA. L'Ouvéa atteignit le mardi 25 mai dans l'après-midi le port un peu plus important d'OPUA d'où le Docteur MANIGUET, qui était celui des quatre hommes qui parlait le mieux l'anglais, prévint la douane de WHANGAREI. Les douaniers vinrent aussitôt et les formalités nécessaires furent accomplies. Les jours suivants le bateau fut à PAIHIA, puis à TUTUKAKA. Pendant les trajets et les haltes, l'équipage photographiait la côte, les criques et les ports. L'Ouvéa atteignit enfin WHANGAREI le 21 juin dans l'après-midi. VELCHE avait pour consigne de ne pas descendre plus au Sud et le bateau ne bougea plus de WHANGAREI jusqu'à son départ vers la Nouvelle Calédonie

b) Du 28 juin au 7 juillet VELCHE et ses compagnons visitèrent systématiquement les côtes. Tantôt AUDRENC, tantôt BERTHELO restaient à bord pour veiller à ce que ne se renouvellent pas des vols qui avaient été commis dès les premiers jours. C'est ainsi qu'un élément de l'équipement du SATNAV ainsi qu'un moteur que l'équipage avait acheté sur place pour le monter sur le youyou avaient disparu. Les expéditions par la route étaient effectuées par VELCHE et par l'un ou l'autre de ses deux équipiers. Six voyages furent ainsi effectués en automobile, dont deux vers le nord (l'OUVEA n'avait pas pu accoster sur

une partie de la côte située entre le Cap Nord et WHANGAREI) et quatre vers le sud, sans atteindre AUCKLAND. Un jour cependant, VELCHE se rendit dans cette ville pour tenter, sans succès, d'acheter le matériel du SACNAV qui avait été volé. Un de ses compagnons le conduisit en automobile et il revint à WHANGAREI par l'autobus. De nombreuses photos furent prises par les trois hommes au cours de leurs déplacements. Elles sont restées à bord de l'OUVEA et ont disparu avec celui-ci.

c) Les journées du 7 au 9 juillet dans la matinée furent consacrées à préparer le départ. L'équipage remplaça l'automobile par un "commodore", afin de transporter à bord le ravitaillement et surtout les fûts d'essence. Les trois compagnons ont affirmé qu'ils avaient passé à l'hôtel de WHANGAREI ou sur le bateau les nuits du 7 au 8 et du 8 au 9. C'est aussi le souvenir que croit avoir gardé le Docteur MANIGUET.

La soirée du 8 fut occupée jusque vers une heure du matin à fêter le 35ème anniversaire de VELCHE, qui se situait, il est vrai, deux jours plus tard, mais qu'il était plus agréable de célébrer à terre.

d) Pendant tout son séjour l'équipage se mêla volontiers à la population. Il était bien accueilli : les Français sont peu nombreux là-bas et le franchissement de la passe de PARAGARENGUA entourait les jeunes navigateurs d'une réputation flatteuse. De nombreuses personnes demandèrent à visiter le bateau. Les commerçants étaient plein d'obligeance. J'ai cru comprendre aussi, mais ceci ne fut vrai, bien entendu, que pour les célibataires, que nos compatriotes portèrent une attention soutenue à la partie féminine de la population.

e) Après les formalités douanières, qui durèrent dans la matinée du 9 juillet de 9 à 10 heures, l'OUVEA

quitta le port de WHANGAREI.

7) De même que l'arrivée en Nouvelle Zélande avait été difficile, le départ le fut aussi. Les vents soufflaient cette fois de l'arrière du bateau, ce qui permettait d'avancer vite, mais une voile fut déchirée. Le Docteur MANIGUET confirma son intention de se séparer du groupe à NORFOLK, pour rentrer en Europe. Le soir du 13 juillet (à moins que ce ne fut le matin du 14) le Docteur MANIGUET apprit par la radio de bord que le RAINBOW WARRIOR avait été coulé. Quand il descendit à terre il lut cette nouvelle dans les journaux. Il en fit part à ses compagnons, qui ne manifestèrent ni joie ni fierté. L'idée ne vint manifestement à aucun des quatre hommes qu'il vaudrait sans doute mieux ne pas s'attarder à NORFOLK, île australienne que beaucoup de liens unissent à la Nouvelle Zélande, et filer sur la Nouvelle Calédonie. Quand je m'en suis étonné auprès d'eux, ils me répondirent que n'étant pas allés à AUCKLAND et n'ayant rien à se reprocher d'autre qu'une entrée en Nouvelle Zélande sous une fausse identité, ils n'avaient pas songé à brûler les étapes. Ils avaient prévu de rester à NORFOLK jusqu'au 15 juillet, jour où le Docteur MANIGUET devait prendre l'avion pour l'Australie, puis pour la France, et ils n'avaient pas modifié leur programme. Mais le 15 juillet au matin les trois hommes étaient interpellés par des policiers australiens et néo-zélandais réunis ; ils subissaient un interrogatoire serré et sans ménagement et le bateau était minutieusement fouillé. Ce qui fut trouvé sur celui-ci ne parut sans doute pas bien inquiétant aux policiers, puisque VELCHE et ses compagnons furent autorisés à poursuivre leur voyage. Ils partirent le 16 au matin mais, à la suite de cette

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alerte, ils prévinrent leur correspondant en France. La DGSE déclencha le plan de rapatriement. Celui-ci fut mis en oeuvre, sans la participation de la Marine Nationale, ainsi que me l'a confirmé le Chef d'Etat-Major de celle-ci, l'Amiral LEENHART. L'OUVEA fut abandonné.

8) Qu'est-ce que je crois savoir et avoir compris au sujet de ces hommes ?

Ce sont des sous-officiers de 30 à 35 ans.

Tous trois sont d'excellents sportifs.

Ils ont une attitude très militaire, mais sans raideur. Je serais très surpris qu'ils soient légers ou impulsifs. VELCHE, en particulier, m'a paru très réfléchi, calme et prudent. Le Docteur MANIGUET a été, de son côté, très impressionné par le soin avec lequel le chef de bord veillait à son équipement et préparait les étapes.

Je n' imagine pas ces hommes prenant une décision contraire aux instructions reçues que d'aller couler le RAINBOW WARRIOR.

J'ai bien sûr, évoqué devant chacun d'eux cette possibilité: la réaction a été chaque fois de me dire qu'une telle initiative les aurait dépassés de beaucoup et qu'ils n'y avaient jamais songé. Il m'a semblé qu'il s'agissait là de leur part moins d'une défense que d'une réaction teintée d'indignation, que du rappel d'une vérité évidente.

Leur absence de réaction quand ils apprirent, lors de leur arrivée à NORFOLK, ce qu'il était advenu du RAINBOW WARRIOR me frappe aussi.

Lorsqu'enfin je leur ai dit que la situation où ils se trouvaient me paraissait à la fois irrégulière, complexe et susceptible d'alimenter les soupçons, qu'il leur faudrait donc en sortir rapidement et se présenter devant la justice de leur pays, même s'ils se sentaient parfaitement innocents, ils parurent plus intimidés qu'inquiétés.

.../...

ne firent aucune objection à mes propos.

* * *

En conclusion, Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

a) Ainsi qu'on le sait pour plusieurs et qu'on n'en doute plus pour les autres, les personnes dites Alain et Sophie TURENGE, DUBAST, VELCHE, AUDRENC et BARTÉLO sont des agents de la DGSE ayant la qualité de militaires et dont les grades vont de ceux de sous-officiers à ceux d'officiers supérieurs.

b) J'ai à peine besoin de dire que la situation de clandestinité où se trouvent des militaires français sur le territoire de leur propre pays doit cesser. Dès que je vous ai fait part de mes suggestions relatives à la présentation des intéressés devant la justice française, vous avez bien voulu les approuver .

c) Tout ce que j'ai entendu et vu me donne la certitude qu'au niveau gouvernemental il n'a été prise aucune décision tendant à ce que le RAINBOW WARRIOR soit endommagé. Cette année, comme les années précédentes, la politique gouvernementale a été exactement contraire.

d) Les doutes que j'ai eus sur façon dont les instructions données par le Ministre de la Défense avaient pu être interprétées ont été levés lorsque je me suis assuré que la marge d'interprétation possible se situait en dessous de ce que j'appellerai la zone dangereuse, c'est-à-dire celle où les services auraient pu se croire invités ou simplement autorisés à mettre en oeuvre des "méthodes douces", elles-mêmes éloignées des actes de violence.

e) Il n'y a aucune raison de penser, (et il existe de fortes raisons de croire le contraire), que la DGSE ait donné aux agents en Nouvelle-Zélande des instructions autres que celles tendant à mettre correctement en oeuvre les directives gouvernementales.

.../...

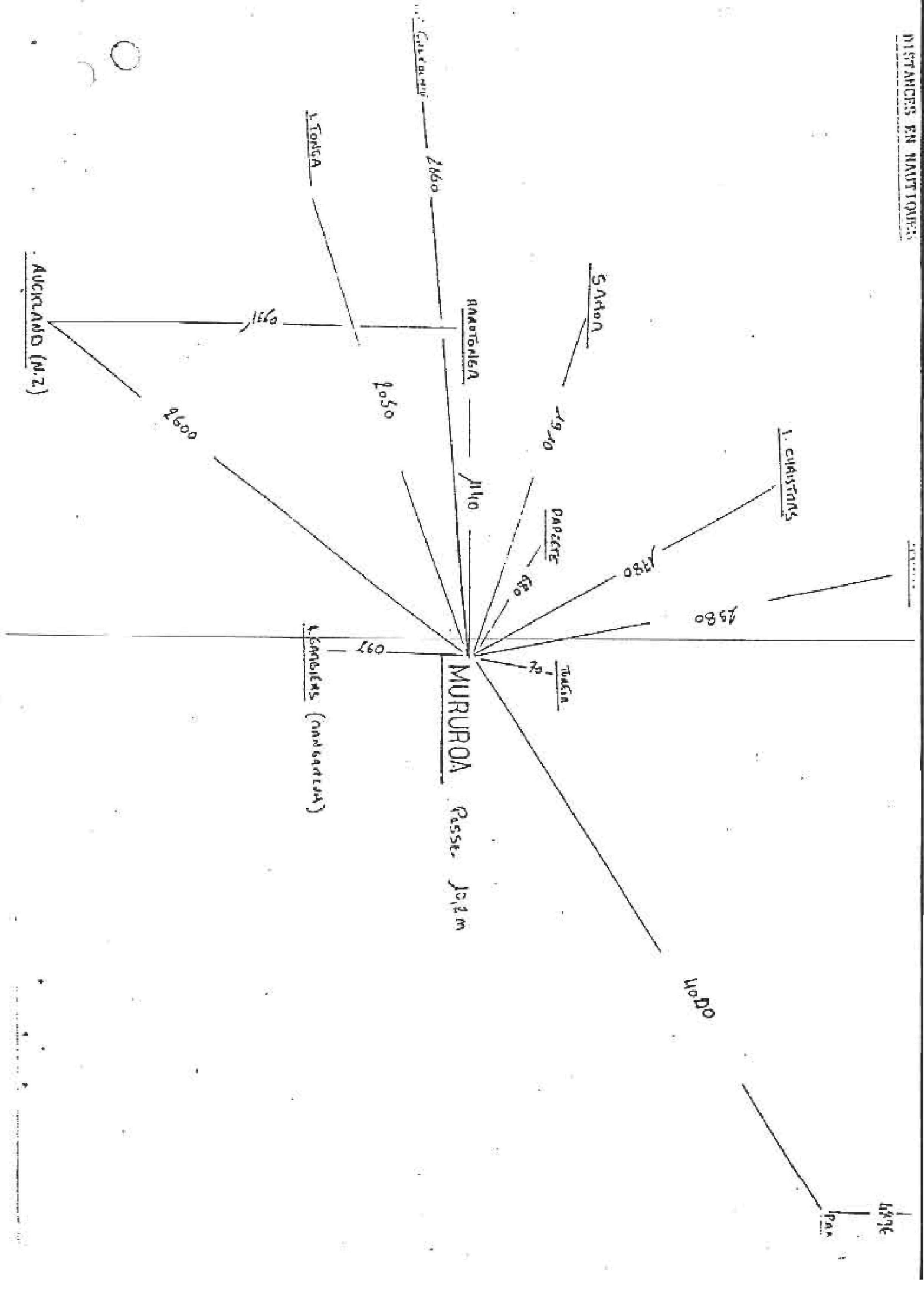
f) Bien qu'il soit impossible, aussi longtemps que la procédure suivie en Nouvelle-Zélande n'aura pas atteint la phase contradictoire, de se prononcer avec certitude sur la réalité des actes reprochés au Commandant MAFART et au Capitaine PRIEUR, je crois, dans l'état actuel de mon information, à leur innocence.

g) C'est ce que je crois aussi, toujours dans l'état actuel de mon information, pour ce qui est de l'Adjudant Chef VERGE et des Adjudants ANDRIES et BARTELO. Une enquête administrative nécessairement rapide peut être difficilement conclusive. Personnellement, je crois donc utile que ce rapport soit suivi en France d'un examen plus détaillé.

Je vous prie, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, d'agréer l'expression de ma haute considération.

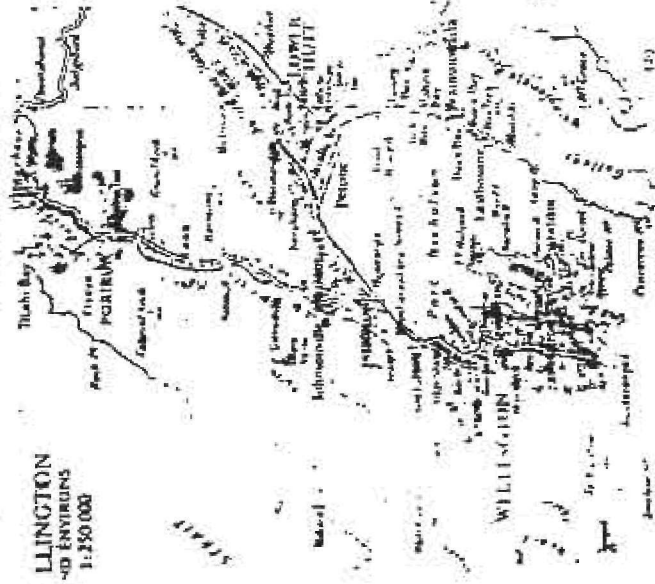
B. Tricot

Bernard TRICOT



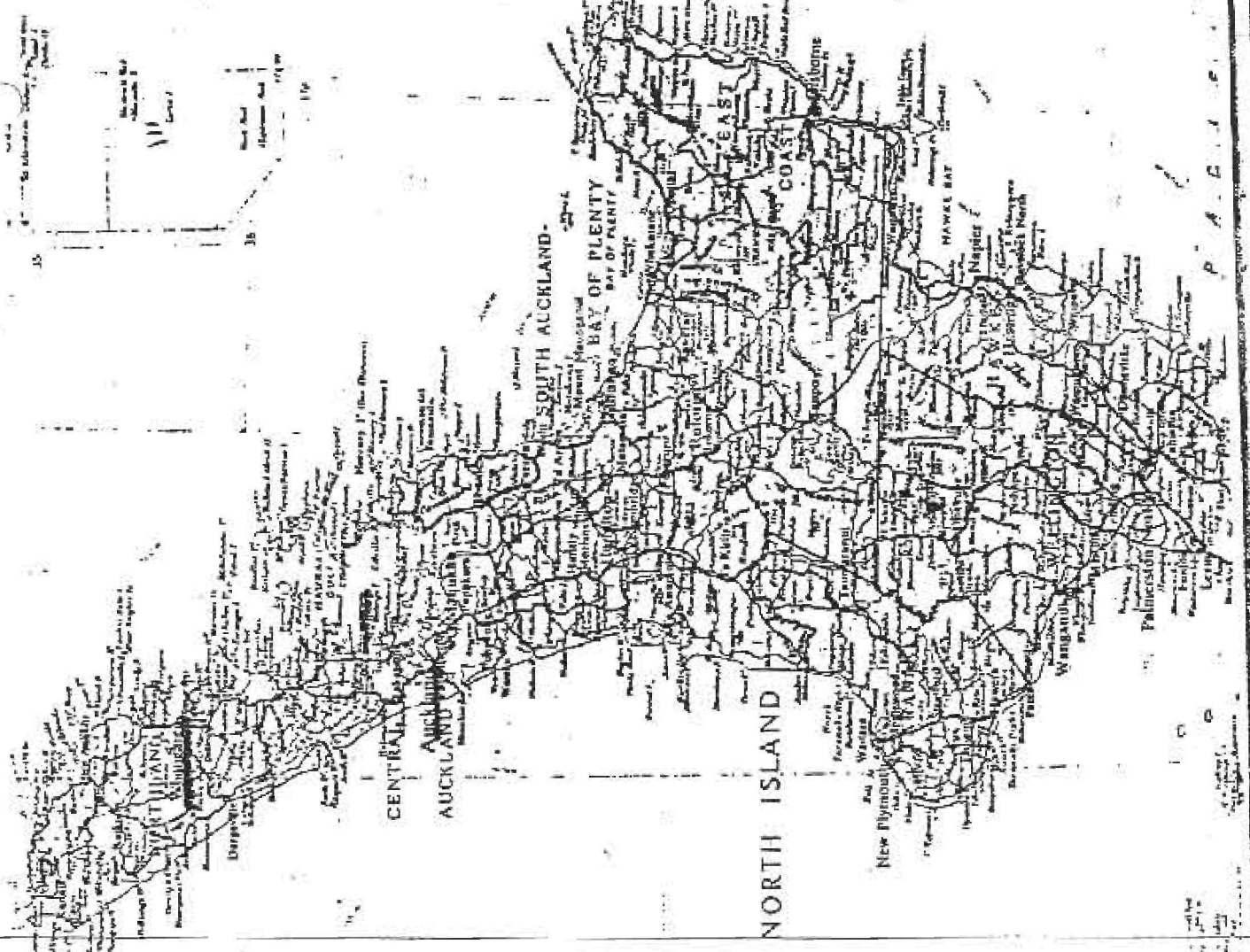


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FINANCIAL TIMES

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cutting dated 19

23 AUG 1985

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Greenpeace sinking protest call

By Our Political Correspondent

MR DAVID STEEL, the Liberal Party leader, yesterday called on the Prime Minister to protest strongly and immediately to the French Government about the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel, Rainbow Warrior. Mrs Thatcher should also make it clear there was no British involvement.

The lack of protest was baffling, said Mr Steel. It was also strange that the British Government had not demanded an apology since the ship was registered in Britain, owned by a British company and had at least one British crew member.

"I wonder why she is so silent now, particularly in the face of suggestions in Paris that the British secret service is involved. I hope it is not our shared membership of the nuclear club with France that stops her criticising this dastardly act."



FROM : I A Roberts
News Department

DATE : 29 August 1985

cc : Private Secretary
PS/Mr Rifkind
Mr Wallis, PUSD
Mr O'Neill
Mr Goodall
Mr Jenkins
SPD

Mr Dain, WED (W62)

RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. The diplomatic correspondent of the Sunday Times, Patrick Bishop, telephoned me this afternoon. He said that their Paris correspondent had been in touch to say that French official sources were briefing freely "anyone who would listen" about British involvement in the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior. L'Express was carrying a story which reflected this briefing and Paris Match would do so also. I told Mr Bishop that we had nothing to volunteer on the record in response to unattributable briefing of this nature other than to point out Mr Lange's remark when asked whether he believed in British involvement which he described as "a malicious fabrication". We had already made clear unattributably that we regarded these allegations as pure fantasy and we do not propose to dignify them with any more formal reaction. Bishop said he understood our reluctance to comment but we should know that French Governmental sources were getting more specific. They were saying, for instance, that the dinghy had been sold to Sophie Turenge by a member of the SBS who it was well known (sic) had close relations with MI6.

/while 2. Although I am sure we are right not to respond to the challenges that have been made at various political and public levels to exculpate ourselves, I suggest we now instruct Mr Weston to talk to the appropriate French authorities (he will know best who is most likely to have been briefing in this sense) and to make clear that we have behaved with great restraint throughout this affair in not wishing to make matters worse for the French Government, we now expect them for their part, to put a stop to this campaign of disinformation and, if considered necessary, to make clear formally and on the record, that they do not believe these tales.

3. You will be better placed than me to judge what is likely to have given rise to this campaign; presumably memories of the plastic explosives affair during the President's State Visit are still green. We are fortunate however that Parliament has not been sitting as there might have been a considerable pressure for Ministerial pronouncements which would have increased the difficulties for the French Government.

I A Roberts

I A Roberts

GREENPEACE

36 Graham Street, London N1 8LL
Tel: 01-608 1461. Telex: 25245

Mr Jones
11/11
2/9
3/11

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC, MP,
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs,
House of Commons,
London. SW1A 0AA

Ref: PW/SB

WLF 261/2	
RECEIVED	3.13
- 25/11/85	
1	4/9

28th August, 1985

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

Re: Sinking of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland, 10th July, 1985

Greenpeace notes with dismay and disappointment the apparent lack of interest which has been manifested by the Foreign Office over the lamentable affair concerning the bombing of our vessel in Auckland and the death of one of our colleagues during the attack.

As you are doubtless aware, the vessel itself was registered as a British ship and is consequently afforded such statutory protection as the law provides.

~~The New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has naturally been in the forefront of condemnation over this issue as in his territorial waters the first ever act of international terrorism to befall New Zealand occurred. However, it must surely be in the interests of everyone to ensure that no effort is spared in attempting to identify the culprits of this outrage and we respectfully request that the Foreign Office make available all information currently at its disposal relating to this issue and institutes a separate enquiry in the UK.~~

We are certain that in pursuit of the Government's often-stated determination to combat international terrorism it will spare no effort in conducting such enquiries as it is legally and morally obliged to carry out.

We look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

PETER WILKINSON
Director

Mr. Duffin

Mr. Duffin

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Mr. Chick, SPD

for early dlt- rep pte

PS
P/M. Perkins
Sir W Harding
Dr Wilson
Mr Jenkins

2/9
P. Clark 2/9

1. The interview was introduced by presenter's observations to the effect that Prime Minister Lange was entirely unconvinced by the Tricot Report, that Tricot had hinted strongly at MI5 involvement and that HMG's continuing silence had angered Teddy Taylor.

2. Mr Taylor said HMG should speak out in order:

- i) to make clear that allegations of British Intelligence involvement were untrue; and
- ii) to support the New Zealand demand for an apology from the French and the repatriation of French nationals wanted for questioning by the New Zealand police.

The Rainbow Warrior was a British registered vessel; New Zealand was part of the Commonwealth and a special friend. He would like to see the Secretary of State jumping up and down a bit to help New Zealand and concluded "it is not just a question of helping friends. It is an act of international piracy which should be condemned and I just cannot understand why Sir Geoffrey Howe does not issue a little statement saying that France should apologise for this tragic error and should cooperate with the New Zealand government in trying to establish all the facts of the situation."

Distribution

PS
PS/Mr Rifkind
PS/PUS
WED
SPD ✓
PUSD
Mr Jenkins

FP2 175/1
7. IM

Mr Dain, WED

Meeting between the Secretary of State and M. Dumas:
27/28 August

The Secretary of State telephoned from Spain yesterday and confirmed (as you perhaps already knew) that he will be staying the night with Dumas near Bordeaux on 27/28 August.

I should be grateful if you would ask the Embassy in Paris to tell the Quai/Dumas himself that the Secretary of State, who told Dumas in Helsinki that he expected to arrive at around 5 p.m. on 27 August, has now, following a hard look at the map, concluded that he is more likely to get there at 6/6.30 p.m. Dumas should therefore not be concerned if his guests are a bit late.

The Secretary of State has also asked for one or two round-up telegrams to be sent to him at his Spanish address via Gibraltar, in preparation for his talks with Dumas (the visit is certainly very largely social in nature, but inevitably some matters of substance will be touched on). I am in touch with SED about the mechanics of this operation, and its timing. Meanwhile I should be grateful if you would coordinate the policy side. Subject to your view I think the Secretary of State needs:

- (a) a brief assessment of the French political scene;
- (b) any really important bilateral matters (perhaps covering the Anglo-French aspects, if there really are some, of the "Rainbow Warrior" sinking);
- (c) a summary of the prospects for the IGC, insofar as there is anything to report since the Secretary of State last focused on the subject;
- (d) notes on any other topical subjects - South Africa and Sri Lanka spring to mind. I have already had a brief word with Mr Jenkins and suggested that he should aim to copy to Gibraltar his reporting telegram on this week's meeting of the Political Committee.

* The aim should I think be to get all telegrams to Gibraltar by the close on Saturday 24 August, and for Gibraltar to take them by car to the Secretary of State near Cadiz on Sunday 25th.

C R Budd

21 August 1985

(C R Budd)

cc: PS/Lady Young PS/Mr Renton
PS/Mr Rifkind PS/PUS
PS/Mr Luce Mr Derek Thomas (cc contd over/..)

CONFIDENTIAL

* This to
me by, say,
5 pm on
23/8, please.

TPZ 175

DATE: 21 August 1985

cc: MABD: ~~SPD:~~ PUSD: News Dept
Consular Department
Mr Peter Williams, Dept of
Transport, Sunley House

PROBLEM

1. The "Rainbow Warrior" is a British ship. We need to consider action with the French government and a line to take in response to eventual press enquiries.

RECOMMENDATION

2. I recommend that the Secretary of State (who is staying the night with M. Dumas near Bordeaux on 27/28 August) should draw M. Dumas' attention to the British interest on account of the ship being British owned and registered; and let him know that the British Government would wish to demonstrate its concern and otherwise involve itself if it should be established that those responsible were employed by, or under the direction of the French government. I recommend that the Secretary of State should not raise the allegations that appeared in the French press that the British secret service was involved in the sinking. I recommend that News Department should respond to any enquiries about British interest in the affair (there have been none yet) in terms of the attached draft press line. If you agree, this advice will be incorporated in the telegrams commissioned by the Private Secretary in his minute of 21 August. MAED, SPD, PUSD, Consular Department, News Department, Legal Advisers and the Department of Transport concur.

BACKGROUND AND ARGUMENT

3. The Greenpeace ship "Rainbow Warrior" was blown up and sunk in Auckland Harbour on 10 July. A Portuguese photographer lost his life in the sinking. The Rainbow Warrior was to have led a protest fleet to the French nuclear testing area at Mururoa Atoll. The New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Lange, has said that New Zealand will sue if French government involvement in the sinking is confirmed. The New Zealand authorities claim that it is now confirmed that the "Swiss" couple arrested after the sinking and charged with the murder of the photographer are in fact French citizens and employees of the French government. The New Zealand authorities are also seeking the four man crew of a yacht hired in New Caledonia before the sinking, which was in Auckland port at the time. It seems likely that the French External Intelligence Service (DGSE), which answers to M. Hernu the Minister of Defence, did indeed organise the sinking.

4. The affair continues to feature prominently in the French media. An early canard about British involvement in the sabotage operation has not gained credibility. President Mitterrand appointed M. Bernard Tricot, a Gaullist former Secretary General at the Elysée, to investigate alleged French official involvement and to report by 22 August. M. Tricot's report is not now expected before the middle of next week.

5. The British government could become involved in the affair because the Rainbow Warrior is a British ship. It was built in Aberdeen and is registered there in the name of the UK company Greenpeace (Rainbow Warrior Holdings) Limited.. The certificate of incorporation bears the number 1558937. It is for the owners, and the New Zealand authorities to proceed against the alleged perpetrators of the sinking. Under the Merchant Shipping Acts the British government has no obligation to initiate legal action. It is open to the British government to hold an enquiry into the loss of a British ship, though this is unlikely to be necessary in the present case, since we can rely on the New Zealand authorities to uncover the facts. But the British government could be asked to

Lo.
Rainbow Warrior Ltd.

provide factual information (for example details of ownership) and diplomatic support to Greenpeace UK.

6. The press have not yet focussed on this British angle. I recommend that News Department, in response to any enquiries, should confirm that the Rainbow Warrior is a British ship and that its British owners would receive normal diplomatic support as appropriate. If asked what action we were taking with the French government, News Department could say that the Secretary of State would be drawing the British interest in the affair to the attention of M. Dumas whom he was meeting socially in France on 28 August.



D J M Dain

SINKING OF THE GREENPEACE
AUCKLAND HARBOUR ON 10 JULY

NEW WARRIOR IN

The French have blown up a British ship. What is the
Government doing?

1. The Rainbow Warrior is indeed a British ship. It was built in Aberdeen, is registered there and owned by a British company - Greenpeace (Rainbow Warrior Holdings) Ltd. Enquiries into responsibility for the explosion have not been completed.

2. Sir Geoffrey Howe will be drawing this British interest to the attention of his French colleague M. Dumas, whom he will meet privately on 28 August.

What about a protest or suing the French?

3. The incident took place in New Zealand waters. This is a matter for the New Zealand authorities. But Greenpeace Ltd will receive normal diplomatic support as appropriate.

Why not hold an Enquiry?

4. We have every confidence in the New Zealand authorities.

French press have claimed that British Secret Service
involved

5. Never comment on questions affecting intelligence or security.

6. (Unattributable). Clear that this story is not taken seriously.

Implications for relations with France

7. Nobody has been proved guilty. Will study closely French official report expected next week.

RESTRICTED

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(32)

FROM: PS/Lady Young
DATE: 14 August 1985

cc: PS/PUS
Mr Derek Thomas
Sir W Harding
Mr Thompson, SPD
PUSD
Mr Roberts, News Department

Mr Dain, WED

GREENPEACE: SINKING OF 'RAINBOW WARRIOR'

(30)

1. Lady Young has seen a copy of Paris Telegram Number 677 and Mr Clarke's manuscript minute of 13 August (attached below). She is sure that it is right for the Embassy not to take up the cudgels with France Inter; this story should be treated with the disdain it deserves.

(NT)

S G Eldon

S G Eldon
PS/Lady Young

14 August 1985

FP2175/1

✓ FM.

RESTRICTED

MOTION FOR THE SUMMER ADJOURNMENT

GREENPEACE SHIP

SPEAKING NOTE

1. The disabling of the Greenpeace ship 'Rainbow Warrior' in Auckland Harbour on 10 July, and the death of a member of the crew as a result of the explosions, is of course a matter of concern. The views of this Government on the need to uphold the rule of law are well known.

2. The matter is one for New Zealand, as the Prime Minister told the House on 11 July. Last night the New Zealand authorities charged a couple holding Swiss nationality with murder, arson and conspiracy to commit arson in connection with the 'Rainbow Warrior'. The police say that they are still pursuing their enquiries and the matter must now be left to the judicial ⁴~~process~~ in New Zealand.

3. The Government is aware that the 'Rainbow Warrior' was to sail into the vicinity of the French nuclear test site in the Pacific. As the House knows, the Government's view is that the best way to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban is to work towards agreement at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

RPZ 175/1
RECEIVED 19

✓ FM

MOTION FOR THE SUMMER ADJOURNMENT

GREENPEACE SHIP

BACKGROUND NOTE

1. On 10 July two explosions blew a hole in the stern of the Greenpeace flagship 'Rainbow Warrior', which took in water and grounded beside the quay in Auckland harbour. A Dutch member of the crew (of Portuguese origin) was killed but there were no British casualties.
2. ~~A couple said to hold Swiss nationality were charged in New Zealand last night with murder, arson and conspiracy to commit arson. Press reports link them with the couple, travelling on Swiss passports in the name of Turenge, and originally charged by the police with immigration and passport offences. The New Zealand police say that they are continuing their international enquiries: leads have already been followed up in Tahiti, Sydney, Norfolk Island (Australia) and Noumea (New Caledonia). The New Zealand Prime Minister has said that the information available shows that the bombing was well funded, meticulously planned, external in the sense that New Zealand was the venue for the attack rather than the target. He added that there was a "political overtone" but there was no evidence connecting the action with a government.~~
3. Greenpeace is an international organisation with its register offices in London. The 'Rainbow Warrior' is registered in Aberdeen. It had been in the Pacific for some months, during which it had evacuated the population of Rongelap Atoll, Marshall Islands (a US Trust Territory), who claimed that the island was contaminated as a result of American nuclear tests in 1954. The vessel had been due to lead a flotilla to Mururoa Atoll to try to disrupt French tests there. A reduced number of ships is expected to proceed with this shortly.

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fm.

17

MOTION FOR THE SUMMER ADJOURNMENT

GREENPEACE SHIP

SPEAKING NOTE

1. The disabling of the Greenpeace ship 'Rainbow Warrior' in Auckland Harbour on 10 July, and the death of a member of the crew as a result of the explosions, is of course a matter of concern. The views of this Government on the need to uphold the rule of law are well known.

2. The matter is one for New Zealand, as the Prime Minister told the House on 11 July. The New Zealand police authorities have assigned significant resources to the case and sought the help of Interpol.

3. It was the intention that the 'Rainbow Warrior' should sail into the vicinity of the French nuclear test site in the Pacific. The Government's view is that the best way to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban is to work towards agreement at the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva.

FPZ 175/1

✓ fm

U/C

MOTION FOR THE SUMMER ADJOURNMENT

GREENPEACE SHIP

BACKGROUND NOTE

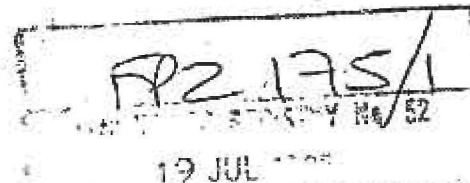
1. On 10 July two explosions blew a hole in the stern of the Greenpeace flagship 'Rainbow Warrior', half submerging it. A Dutch member of the crew (of Portuguese origin) was killed but there were no British casualties.
2. The New Zealand police have confirmed that explosive devices were attached to the outside of the vessel. No organisation or individual has claimed responsibility for the incident. The New Zealand police are pursuing their enquiries, with the help of Interpol. Possible suspects have been interviewed in Sydney and Norfolk Island (Australia) and Noumea (New Caledonia). A foreign couple have been arrested for passport offences (use of Swiss passports not their own). The police say that they have a great deal of evidence and are drawing a connection between this couple and abandoned equipment and the remains of explosive devices in Auckland harbour. But no charges relating to 'Rainbow Warrior' have yet been brought.
3. Greenpeace is an international organisation with its registered offices in London. The 'Rainbow Warrior' is registered in Aberdeen. It had been in the Pacific for some months, during which it had evacuated the population of Rongelap Atoll, Marshall Islands (a US Trust Territory), who claimed that the island was contaminated as a result of American nuclear tests in 1954. The vessel had been due to lead a flotilla to Mururoa Atoll to try to disrupt French tests there. A reduced number of ships is expected to proceed with this shortly.

16

FROM: PARLIAMENTARY CLERK
DATE: 12 JULY 1985

cc: Private Secretary
PS/All Ministers

Head of SPD



MOTION FOR THE SUMMER ADJOURNMENT

1. The motion for the Summer Adjournment will be debated on Wednesday 24 July starting at about 4.00 pm and lasting a maximum of 3 hours. The Leader of the House (Mr Biffen) has asked for briefing material for his use in winding up the debate.

2. In the past, briefing has been required on any FCO matter which may be raised by backbenchers as reasons why "the House should not adjourn". Instead, on this occasion it has been decided to concentrate on only a few highly topical issues.


3. The subject of concern to your Department is:

Green Peace ship

4. As always, material should be succinct. The brief should be in the form of a speaking note (unclassified) of not more than 200 words, double spaced, supplemented by a separate brief background note as necessary also on one side, double spaced, of not more than 400 words.

5. I should be grateful if your brief could reach me by NOON on Friday 19 July at the latest. At the same time please let me have the name and telephone number of an official who could be 'on call' in case additional briefing is required during the course of the debate.

6. The attached note on the presentation of briefs may be useful to your Secretarial Staff.


P H Johnson
Parliamentary Clerk

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL
FM UKDEL NATO
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 325
OF 121347Z DECEMBER 85
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS

FOLLOWING FOR DAIN (WED) FROM DEREK THOMAS

GREENPEACE: APPOINTMENT OF ARBITRATOR

1. I SPOKE THIS MORNING TO MOREL TO EXPLAIN THE REQUEST TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS TO ACT AS AN APPOINTING AUTHORITY IN THE FINAL STAGE OF THE ARBITRATION PROCESS BETWEEN GREENPEACE AND FRANCE SHOULD THE NEED FOR THIS ARISE. MOREL WAS NOT AWARE OF THE DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND GREENPEACE, BUT CONFIRMED THAT DUMAS HAD BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH SINCE SEPTEMBER WITH THE NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN MINISTER ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE SHIP. MOREL WAS ALSO AWARE THAT AN ARBITRATION PROCEDURE HAD BEEN AGREED.

2. I EXPLAINED TO MOREL THAT WE WOULD IN PRINCIPLE BE PERFECTLY WILLING THAT THE APPOINTING AUTHORITY SHOULD BE AN ENGLISH JUDGE, PROVIDED ONLY THIS WAS THE WISH OF BOTH PARTIES. MOREL TOOK THIS POINT AND THOUGHT THAT THE MOST APPROPRIATE PERSON TO PROVIDE WRITTEN EVIDENCE OF THE WISHES OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE THE LEGAL ADVISER AT THE QUAI WHO WAS AT PRESENT IN NEW YORK. WHEN I EXPLAINED THE URGENCY, HOWEVER, HE AGREED TO INVESTIGATE OTHER POSSIBLE MEANS AND UNDERTOOK TO BE IN TOUCH WITH US, EITHER DIRECT OR THROUGH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR IN LONDON.

3. MOREL TOLD ME THAT HE HAD PASSED ON THE INFORMATION I GAVE HIM LAST WEEK ABOUT THE OWNERSHIP OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR. HIS MINISTER HAD BEEN GRATEFUL FOR THIS AND WAS MAKING GOOD USE OF IT.

GRAHAM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~RESTRICTED~~

TOP COPY

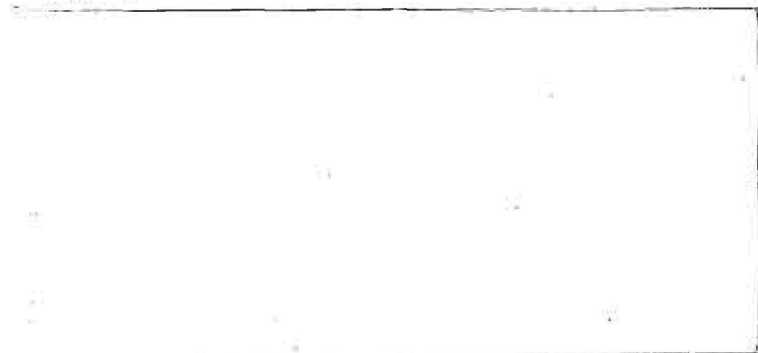
RESTRICTED
FM WELLINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 345
OF 260357Z NOVEMBER 85
INFO IMMEDIATE PARIS

RP2 175/1.
RECEIVED BY 8 NOV 85 AT 32
26 NOV 85
NEW ZEALAND
A 111 14000

RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. AT A POST-CABINET PRESS CONFERENCE ON 25 NOVEMBER, LARGELY DOMINATED BY OTHER MATTERS, PRIME MINISTER LANGE DECLARED THAT NO CONSIDERATION WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE EARLY DEPORTATION OF MAFART AND PRIEUR FOLLOWING THEIR TEN YEAR SENTENCES ON FRIDAY. WHILST HE ADMITTED THAT THERE WAS PROVISION IN NZ LAW TO RELEASE AND DEPORT CONVICTED PRISONERS, HE SAID THAT THE PAIR WOULD NOT BE DEPORTED QUOTE IN THE LIFE OF THIS GOVERNMENT UNQUOTE.
2. HE DENIED THAT ANY APPROACH HAD BEEN MADE BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR RELEASE AND CATEGORISED THE POSSIBILITY OF ANY FRENCH THREAT OF ECONOMIC SANCTIONS (AS AIRED IN THE PRESS) AS LIKELY TO BE REGARDED AS OUTRAGEOUS IN EUROPE. HE ADDED HOWEVER, THAT THE THREAT COULD NOT BE ALTOGETHER DISCOUNTED.
3. BY TAKING SUCH AN UNCOMPROMISING LINE ON THE POSSIBILITY OF DEPORTING THE PRISONERS, PRIME MINISTER LANGE HAS ONCE AGAIN DUG A HOLE FROM WHICH HE WILL FIND IT HARD TO ESCAPE. NO DOUBT THIS (COUPLED WITH THE TENOR OF SOME OF HIS REMARKS ABOUT FRENCH CONDUCT) WILL HARDEN THE ANTIPATHETIC FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARDS NZ.
4. RELEVANT TEXT FOLLOWS BY BAG.

O'LEARY



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(250)

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WRF 261/2

pg. (Greenpeace)

cl 18/11

16/11

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO FLASH ROME

TELNO 474

OF 141200Z NOVEMBER 85

FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY FOR PS/SECRETARY OF STATE
SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH M DUMAS : GREENPEACE

1. YOU ASKED FOR BRIEFING ON M DUMAS' SUGGESTION, PUT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE MARGINS OF THE POCO DINNER IN LUXEMBOURG ON 9 SEPTEMBER, THAT BRITISH AND FRENCH EXPERTS SHOULD PERHAPS GET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR.
2. THIS OFFER WAS MADE IN THE CONTEXT OF FRENCH ALLEGATIONS OF UK INVOLVEMENT IN THE SINKING. WE HAD BEEN PRESSING THE FRENCH FOR THEM PUBLICLY TO STATE THAT THEY BELIEVED THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH INVOLVEMENT.
3. OFFICIALS ARE CAUTIOUS ABOUT THE VALUE OF CONTACTS BETWEEN THE UK AND FRENCH EXPERTS IF THEY BECOME NEGOTIATIONS ON A CLAIM. OUR LOCUS IN THIS AFFAIR IS THE FACT THAT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR WAS A BRITISH SHIP. WHILST WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN TO GIVE APPROPRIATE SUPPORT TO GREENPEACE IN ANY CLAIM THEY MAY MAKE, WE HAVE NO WISH TO GET INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATION OF SUCH A CLAIM. THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES DEALT DIRECT WITH THE FAMILY OF THE DUTCH PHOTOGRAPHER KILLED IN THE INCIDENT AND THEIR LAWYERS IN SETTLING THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION FOR THEM. WE HAVE ENCOURAGED GREENPEACE (SECRETARY OF STATE'S LETTER TO MR WILKINSON OF 7 OCTOBER) TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS OVER COMPENSATION WITH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES. WE UNDERSTAND THAT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GREENPEACE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GREENPEACE ARE STILL CONSIDERING WHAT COURSE OF ACTION TO PURSUE.

4. THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES HAVE CONDUCTED NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE FRENCH. BUT THEIR SITUATION IS DIFFERENT. NEW ZEALAND SOVEREIGNTY WAS VIOLATED AND THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT HAS A DIRECT CLAIM AGAINST THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

5. SHOULD DUMAS REVERT TO HIS SUGGESTION, BUT IN RELATION TO THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION, THE SECRETARY OF STATE MIGHT RESPOND BY SAYING THAT THE BEST COURSE WOULD SEEM TO BE FOR THE FRENCH TO MAKE AN OFFER TO GREENPEACE. BUT WE WOULD WELCOME BEING KEPT IN TOUCH WITH FRENCH THINKING AND STAND READY TO HELP WHERE WE CAN. IN ANY CASE OFFICIALS OUGHT TO MAKE SURE THAT WE HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF EACH OTHER'S APPROACH TO PREVENT MISUNDERSTANDING. COULD DUMAS LET US KNOW WHOM IN THE FRENCH ADMINISTRATION OUR EMBASSY SHOULD CONTACT AS APPROPRIATE?

6. ANGLO-FRENCH SUMMIT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL WISH TO KNOW THAT MME CRESSON WILL AFTER ALL PARTICIPATE ALONGSIDE MR BRITIAN, AND THAT WE HAVE AGREED WITH THE FRENCH THAT MR LAWSON AND M BEREGOVY WILL ATTEND THE ECOFIN MEETING RATHER THAN THE SUMMIT.

HOWE

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RESTRICTED
FM PARIS
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 943
OF 051728Z NOVEMBER 85

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(172)

Pa.
TZ 175/1

(70)

MY TELNO 940 : RAINBOW WARRIOR

✓ fm.

SUMMARY

1. IN ITS COPIOUS REPORTING TODAY, THE FRENCH PRESS CONCLUDES THAT THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR IS ALL BUT OVER. AFTER THE GOVERNMENT'S SUCCESS IN GETTING THE TURENGES OFF THE MURDER CHARGE, IT ONLY REMAINS FOR THE NEW ZEALANDERS TO ORDER THEIR DEPORTATION AND THE AFFAIR WILL BE BURIED. SEVERAL LEADER-WRITERS REGRET IN PASSING THAT THE WHOLE TRUTH WILL NEVER NOW BE KNOWN.

DETAIL

2. LIBERATION AND LE MONDE CARRY SIMILAR ACCOUNTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PROSECUTION AND DEFENCE. BOTH BELIEVE THAT AT A CRUCIAL STAGE THE NEW ZEALANDERS WERE INFLUENCED BY THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF REFUSING A DEAL, PARTICULARLY FOR LAMB AND BUTTER EXPORTS. MOST OF THE OTHER PAPERS SPEAK WITH LESS SUBTLETY OF A STRAIGHTFORWARD DEAL INVOLVING THE RELEASE OF THE TURENGES AGAINST CONTINUED ACCESS FOR NEW ZEALAND EXPORTS TO THE EC. SO STRONG IS THIS PRESUMPTION HERE THAT THE FARMERS' LEADER GUILLAUME HAS FELT OBLIGED TO DENY THAT SUCH A DEAL COULD BE MADE. DEFENCE MINISTER QUHES HAS ALSO WARNED IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW THAT THE IMMEDIATE EXPULSION OF THE TURENGES ON 22 NOVEMBER IS NOT GUARANTEED. BUT PUBLIC EXPECTATIONS HAVE BEEN BUILT UP TO THE POINT THAT THERE WILL BE STRONG RESENTMENT AND SUSPICION OF NEW ZEALAND CHEATING IF THE TURENGES ARE NOT HOME BY CHRISTMAS. THEY ARE ON THE WAY TO BECOMING FOLK-HEROES, WHILE HERNU, WHO RESIGNED AFTER ACKNOWLEDGING PARTIAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SINKING, IS SPOKEN OF AS A POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE FOR 1988.

FRETWELL

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FM PARIS

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 940

OF 041848Z NOVEMBER 85

168

WELLINGTON TELNO 314 : RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. THE PROSPECT OF THE TRIAL OF MAFART AND PRIEUR STIMULATED A FURTHER BOUT OF FRENCH MEDIA INTEREST IN THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR OVER THE WEEKEND, BUT WITH THE FOCUS ON THE MECHANICS OF THE OPERATION RATHER THAN POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. INTEREST NOW SEEMS LIKELY TO DECLINE AGAIN UNTIL THE SENTENCING. THE FRENCH PRESS EXPECTS THE JUDGE TO INCLUDE IN HIS SENTENCE AN ORDER FOR DEPORTATION AFTER A PERIOD IN PRISON, THUS ENABLING THE NEW ZEALANDERS TO SEND THE TWO DGSE AGENTS BACK TO FRANCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THE GENERAL ASSUMPTION IS THAT THIS IS BEING NEGOTIATED BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, PROBABLY IN RETURN FOR PERMITTING CONTINUED NZ LAMB AND BUTTER EXPORTS. FRENCHMEN WILL HAVE FOUND THIS SUPPOSITION CONFIRMED BY LANGE'S STATEMENT BEFORE THE HEARING THAT HE WAS SURE THE TURENGES WERE NOT DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SINKING; THIS IS AUTOMATICALLY UNDERSTOOD HERE AS A POLITICAL DIRECTIVE WHICH DETERMINES THE OUTCOME OF THE CASE.

FRETWELL

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HT has seen.

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UNCLASSIFIED
FM WELLINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 314 (CORRECTED VERSION)
OF 040407Z NOVEMBER 85

RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. MAJOR ALAIN MAFART AND CAPTAIN DOMINIQUE PRIEUR PLEADED GUILTY TO MANSLAUGHTER IN AUCKLAND TODAY AFTER MURDER CHARGES WERE DROPPED AS RESULT OF PLEA BARGAINING.
2. PAIR HAVE BEEN CONVICTED AND REMANDED IN CUSTODY UNTIL 22 NOVEMBER WHEN SENTENCE WILL BE PASSED.
3. IMMIGRATION CHARGES ARE TO BE CONSIDERED ON 25 NOVEMBER.

O'LEARY

FPZ 175/1

HT has seen

✓ TM

124 23
DAS
28/10

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WR F 26/2

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FM FCO
TO DESKBY 251900Z LUXEMBOURG
TELNO 132
OF 251850Z OCT

49
30/10

FOLLOWING FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY
SECRETARY OF STATE'S MEETING WITH DUMAS: GREENPEACE
1. WE HAVE TO DATE RECEIVED LETTERS FROM 35 MPS AND ABOUT 50
MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC - SOME OF THE MPS' LETTERS CONTAIN
PETITIONS WITH UP TO 200 SIGNATURES. ONLY 2 PQS HAVE BEEN TABLED
AS PARLIAMENT HAS BEEN IN RECESS.
2. THE LETTERS HAVE BEEN ALMOST UNANIMOUS IN URGING HMG TO
CONDEMN THE SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AS AN ACT OF STATE
SPONSORED TERRORISM AND TO MAKE STRONG REPRESENTATIONS TO THE
FRENCH. WE HAVE BEEN URGED TO SEEK COMPENSATION ON BEHALF OF
GREENPEACE AND TO SUPPORT NEW ZEALAND'S CLAIMS AGAINST THE FRENCH.
MOST OF THE CORRESPONDENCE WAS WRITTEN PRIOR TO FCO SPOKESMAN'S
STATEMENT ON 23 SEPTEMBER AND OUR SUBSEQUENT APPROACHES TO THE
FRENCH, THOUGH WE HAVE RECEIVED ONE OR TWO LETTERS SUBSEQUENTLY
PROTESTING THAT OUR ACTION WAS NOT SUFFICIENTLY FIRM.
3. A TYPICAL CONSTITUENT'S LETTER DATED 27 SEPTEMBER AND
FORWARDED BY IAN STEWART MP READS 'I AM GLAD TO READ THAT WE ARE
NOW STARTING TO APPROACH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES WITH REGARD TO
SOME RECOMPENSE FOR THIS OUTRAGE: HOWEVER I REMAIN ASTOUNDED AT
THE MILDNESS OF OUR RESPONSE. A BRITISH SHIP HAS BEEN DELIBERATELY
SUNK AT ANCHOR IN A COMMONWEALTH PORT BY A FOREIGN POWER, AND A
MEMBER OF HER CREW MURDERED: ONLY BY GOOD FORTUNE DID MANY MORE
NOT MEET THEIR DEATHS...

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~~RESTRICTED~~

NOT ONLY DID THE FRENCH CONSISTENTLY TRY TO PLACE THE BLAME UPON US, BOTH IN THEIR PLANNING AND BY RUMOUR (HOWEVER LUDICROUS THAT MAY SEEM), BUT EVEN AFTER HAVING BEEN FORCED TO ADMIT THEIR GUILT, THERE HAS BEEN NO RECANTATION OR EXPRESSION OF REGRET OR APOLOGY. THEIR PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARD FINANCIAL REPARATION SHOWS EVERY SIGN OF BEING EITHER DELIBERATELY DELAYED, OR PUT FORWARD AS A BARGAINING-COUNTER.....

I HAVE SPENT QUITE A LOT OF TIME IN FRANCE, AND AM A FRANCOPHILE: I SPEAK THE LANGUAGE, LOVE THE COUNTRY AND HAVE MANY FRIENDS THERE. BUT NO ONE COULD DEFEND THE PRESENT ACTIONS OF THE FRENCH ESTABLISHMENT.''

HOWE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

237

Amended to take
account of Points
made by Paris

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM FCO 151500Z OCT 85

TO SAVING CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES

GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 134 OF 15 OCTOBER 1985

ORF 261/2

Enter + pc

THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR

INTRODUCTION

1. After the French Prime Minister's admission on 22 September that French agents were responsible for the sinking of the Greenpeace "Rainbow Warrior" (a British-registered and British owned ship) in Auckland harbour on 10 July, the British Government came under increased public pressure to make representations to the French authorities in support of British interests; and/or to lend support to the New Zealand Government in any measures it may take to seek compensation from the French. The "Rainbow Warrior" had been due to lead a protest flotilla to the French nuclear testing area at Mururoa Atoll. Representations we made to the French immediately after the admission of responsibility reduced this pressure. But, depending on developments and with Parliament about to reconvene interest in the matter and demands for more action by HMG may increase.

LINE TO TAKE (if raised)

2. We view with grave concern acts such as the sinking of the "Rainbow Warrior" wherever they may occur and whoever may commit them. We deeply regret the loss of life that occurred. We hope that the French authorities, having admitted responsibility will now move quickly to compensate those who have suffered loss.

ADDITIONAL POINTS (for defensive use)

3. British Government claim on the French.

We believe that in the first instance it is for those who have a direct grievance, ie Greenpeace, the New Zealand authorities, and the family of the Dutch crew member who was killed, to pursue any detailed negotiations with the French authorities over compensation, or initiate legal proceedings.

4. A separate British enquiry.

i) As the incident took place in New Zealand waters investigation are primarily a matter for the New Zealand authorities. We have every confidence that they will conduct a full and fair enquiry.

ii) There may be a case for a shipping enquiry under the Merchant Shipping Acts. The New Zealand Maritime Department are holding their own preliminary enquiry and have promised us a copy of their report. We will consider the position in the light of this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

/5. British

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5. British assistance to New Zealand.

We are assisting the New Zealand authorities in their enquiries. The Prime Minister agreed to a request from the New Zealand Prime Minister to provide a British expert in underwater explosions to help in their investigations.

6. Any role for British mediation between France and New Zealand?

We hope that France and New Zealand will succeed soon in settling their differences over the affair. We welcome the decision to establish a joint Franco-New Zealand working group.

7. Allegations of UK prior knowledge of and involvement in the sinking.

The allegations were patently absurd even before the official French admission of responsibility. They were first put about in the French media on the basis of either pure fantasy or disinformation. The radio station which first gave them currency apologised to our Embassy in Paris; Mr Lange rejected them as "mischievous" and "absurd"; and the French Foreign Minister at an early stage accepted Sir Geoffrey Howe's assurance that British Intelligence had not been involved in the sinking.

8. British Government support for a claim by Greenpeace.

It is for Greenpeace, as owner of the "Rainbow Warrior", to initiate any claim. The British Government will give appropriate support.

9. French action against the Greenpeace flotilla.

We would condemn acts of violence by any of the parties concerned. The French have acted within their rights in suspending access to their 12 mile territorial waters.

10. UK attitude to French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

We understand the reasons why France conducts these tests. We recognise the strong regional concern over the testing, but consider that the best way to solve the problem is through an adequately verifiable comprehensive test ban.

BACKGROUND (May be drawn on freely except for paras 14, ^{para 16 where indicated} and 18 to 21, which are for your own information)

11. The Affair

On 12 July, two days after the bombing of the "Rainbow Warrior" in Auckland harbour, a French-speaking couple travelling on false Swiss passports under the name of Turenge were arrested and subsequently discovered to be members of the French external secret service (the DGSE). Increasingly strong circumstantial evidence (including the activities of the French-registered yacht, the "Ouvea") pointed to French involvement to the incident.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

/French

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

French officials condemned the sinking but denied French governmental responsibility for it. In the face of proliferating rumours, the French Prime Minister announced an official enquiry on 8 August.

12. The enquiry was carried out by Bernard Tricot, a veteran Guallist Civil Servant. He reported to M. Fabius on 26 August. He exonerated the French Government from blame for the sinking but admitted this was on the basis of limited available evidence. His report failed to convince either the New Zealand authorities or the French press. On 18 September "Le Monde" reported that the "Rainbow Warrior" had been sunk by two unidentified French military divers working for the DGSE and that top officials had ordered the operation or at least known about it.

13. On 20 September M. Hernu, responsible as Defence Minister for the DGSE, resigned, still claiming to have ordered his agents only to monitor the activities of Greenpeace. Admiral Lacoste, head of DGSE, was dismissed on the same day. On 22 September M. Fabius admitted that French agents had been responsible for the sinking, but argued that those who carried out the operation should be exonerated as they were military personnel obeying orders.

14. The French press have questioned Fabius' claim not to have known the truth until 21 September. Doubts also hang over how (and if) President Mitterrand remained ignorant of the truth for so long. General Jean Saulnier, the Chief of Staff at the Elysee at the time, is known to have authorised funds for the operation. Depending on the investigative stamina of the press the affair could yet have even more serious repercussions.

15. The planned Greenpeace protest against French nuclear tests in the Pacific has gone ahead. President Mitterrand has publicly defended the tests and issued an order reiterating instructions to use force if necessary to prevent unauthorised entry into the (12 mile) territorial waters around the Mururoa and Fangataufa atolls. He visited the Mururoa test site on 13 September with several senior ministers. The visit was praised in France, but described as "provocative" by the Australian and New Zealand Prime Ministers.

British involvement

16. Allegations of British involvement in the affair, appeared in the French press from an early stage. They probably resulted from efforts by the DGSE to divert attention from themselves. When the Secretary of State met the French Foreign Minister on 27 August, he assured M. Dumas that there had been no British intelligence involvement in the sinking of the "Rainbow Warrior". M. Dumas accepted those assurances, but declined to state publicly that he did not believe the stories of British involvement. The FCO spokesman revealed the exchange on 5 September. Allegations of British skullduggery continue to find a receptive audience in France, but have surfaced less and less frequently as French responsibility has become unmistakably clear.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

/17. Prior

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

17. Prior to M. Fabius' admission of French involvement HMG made no public statement ascribing responsibility. In response to a question in the Commons on 11 July, the Prime Minister said that if the New Zealand authorities asked for help with their enquiries we would consider giving it. The New Zealand Government requested the assistance of an underwater explosives expert and the Prime Minister wrote to Mr Lange on 10 September to agree the request: this was made public on 13 September. *not to be* *voluntarily* In correspondence with MPs and with Greenpeace, FCO Ministers have made clear their concern over the incident and their wish to see the culprits identified and brought to justice. On the question of a claim by Greenpeace for compensation they have undertaken to provide appropriate support. On 23 September, an FCO spokesman made a statement along the lines of paragraph 2 above.

18. On 24 September the British Ambassador in Paris delivered a Note to the French Foreign Ministry drawing attention to HMG's standing in the matter (the "Rainbow Warrior" being a British ship) and urging swift compensation. The PUS delivered a similar Note to the French Ambassador in the course of a call on other business on 25 September. The demarches in Paris and London were announced by the FCO spokesman on 24 September. The Quai's official reaction was that the British demarche "does not call for a reply" but privately they made clear their resentment at our approach and its announcement. The effect of our prompt action with the French has been to curb media and other pressure for a more confrontational approach. We have since avoided further public comment on the basis of "least said, soonest mended".

Claims for compensation.

19. The French Government have told New Zealand that they are ready to pay reparation for the losses sustained. The New Zealanders have told us that they are accordingly drawing up a list of claims for presentation to the French. It is not yet clear whether the New Zealand claim will be a 'composite' one which would cover all losses incurred by all parties.

20. Greenpeace do not appear to have decided yet what to do about claiming for the damage to the "Rainbow Warrior".

21. We do not propose to take up a definitive position ourselves on these claims until the intentions of others are clear, but we would prefer to avoid getting directly involved in any claim.

HOWE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FP2 175/1

JT. has seen.

CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE PARIS

TELNO 526

OF 011700Z OCT 85

CONVERSATION WITH THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER

1. IN RESPONSE TO AN EARLIER TELEPHONE CALL FROM ME, DUMAS TELEPHONED FROM LUXEMBOURG DURING THE LUNCH HOUR TODAY.
2. I SAID I HAD A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS I WANTED TO DISCUSS WITH HIM:
 - (A) WAS PRESIDENT MITTERRAND INTENDING TO ACCEPT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S INVITATION TO HAVE LUNCH IN NEW YORK ON 24 NOVEMBER? AND WOULD DUMAS HIMSELF BE PRESENT? DUMAS REPLIED THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD NOT YET MADE UP HIS MIND, BUT HE HIMSELF WOULD BE IN NEW YORK ANYWAY FOR THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY.
 - (B) GREENPEACE. REFERRING TO THE CONVERSATION I HAD HAD WITH DUMAS LAST WEEK IN NEW YORK, I SAID THAT I WAS CONCERNED BY THE RECENT FLURRY OF ILL-FEELING BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. I HOPED THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION TO BE SORTED OUT IN A LOW-KEY WAY BETWEEN THE EXPERTS. DUMAS AT FIRST THOUGHT THAT I WAS ASKING FOR THE BILATERAL ANGLO-FRENCH POINT TO BE DEALT WITH BY THE FRANCO-NEW ZEALAND GROUP DUE TO MEET AGAIN IN THREE WEEKS TIME. HAVING BEEN ASSURED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE, HE TOOK NOTE AND SAID SIMPLY THAT HE WOULD THINK ABOUT IT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(c)

141

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(C) RITA/PTARMIGAN. WHEN I RAISED THE SUBJECT, DUMAS SAID THAT THE FRENCH HAD BEEN VERY DISAPPOINTED BY THE PRESS STORIES ALLEGING THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT REAGAN HAD BEEN SHARPLY CRITICAL OF FRANCE. I SAID I WANTED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE LETTER HAD IN NO WAY BEEN CRITICAL OF FRANCE OR FRENCH POLICY. NOR HAD IT MENTIONED THE SDI. DUMAS SAID IT WAS A PITY THAT WE HAD NOT PUT OUT A DEMENTI. I SAID THAT TO DO SO WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO CAUSE THE PUBLICITY TO FLARE UP AGAIN THEN TO BE OF ANY HELP. DUMAS REPEATED THAT THE FRENCH HAD FOUND IT 'DIFFICULT' TO SEE THE STORY APPEAR WITHOUT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT PRODUCING ANY DENIAL.

(D) FINALLY, I ASKED DUMAS IF HE WOULD BE FREE TO COME TO CHEVENING ON 29 OCTOBER FOR TALKS FOLLOWED BY DINNER, TO DISCUSS IN PARTICULAR CURRENT IGC QUESTIONS. DUMAS SAID THAT HE WOULD SEE WHETHER OR NOT THIS WOULD BE POSSIBLE.

3. THE TONE OF THE REMARKS MADE BY DUMAS WAS DISTINCTLY COOL THROUGHOUT THIS CONVERSATION. BUT HE WAS CERTAINLY NOT UNFRIENDLY.

HOWE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



165 WED

Mr. Alfie
W

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

From the Secretary of State

WOLF 26/12
7 OCT 1985
8/10

7 October 1985

PA
3/10

Peter Wilkinson
(148)

Thank you for your letter of 13 September.

The Department of Transport understand that the New Zealand Maritime Department's enquiry is nearing completion, but they have yet to receive any report of its conclusions. They will review the position as soon as they receive the report and consider whether there is any marine safety aspect which warrants further action on their part. Nicholas Ridley knows that you would wish to be advised when he has reached his decision.

You ask if we would in certain circumstances initiate legal proceedings against France. As you will have seen from the press, when M. Fabius admitted that French agents had been responsible for the sinking, we urged the French Government to act swiftly to compensate those who had suffered in this affair. We welcome M. Fabius' statement about compensation for Mr Pereira. The normal course is for those who have a direct claim (yourselves, the New Zealand authorities, the family of Mr Pereira) to pursue negotiations over compensation with the French authorities. No doubt you will keep us in touch with developments; we shall be ready to review what we can do to help in the light of the progress you are able to make.

/You

Peter Wilkinson Esq



You also asked me to make available such information as I have to hand on this incident. A review of our departmental files has been conducted. I understand that it has revealed no material relevant to any claims you decide to lodge beyond what has appeared in the international press and public statements by the interested parties.

GEOFFREY HOWE

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Geoffrey Howe', is written over a horizontal line. Above the signature, there are two additional horizontal lines, one of which is slightly curved.

WRF 26/2

22 OCT 1985

Issue

FROM: R S G Clarke

DATE: 7 October 1985

cc: Dr Wilson
SPD
News D
PUSD

Letter has
been

pe 2/1

167

Mr Munro
PS/Lady Young

Eden + Munro

1) in for box on 12/10

2) Munro - to see exp. the last
para of the letter

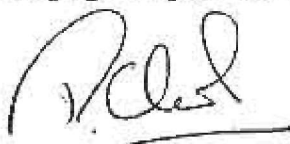
Advice kept letter
2)

GREENPEACE "RAINBOW WARRIOR": LETTER FROM MR MARK FISHER MP

173

- A 1. I submit a draft reply to Mr Fisher's letter of 17 September to the Secretary of State. Paragraphs 2 to 4 are based on Lady Young's letter of 3 October to Mr Jopling.

2. Short of asking the French, it is almost impossible to be certain that there has been no British involvement of any kind in the French nuclear testing programme in the South Pacific. WED, SPD and Sc(NUC) (2), MOD (the section dealing with nuclear tests) have no knowledge of any such involvement and it seems inherently unlikely that France should allow foreign interests to play a part, however small, in the tests. But to go further than the line taken in the draft reply might be a hostage to fortune.



R S G Clarke
Western European Department



From the Secretary of State

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

WRF 261/2 London SW1A 2AH

7 October 1985

18 SEP 1985

8/10

✓ 1) cc SPD

2) Enter + pc

7/10

Dr AY

122

Thank you for your letter of 18 September about British Government support for New Zealand over the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.

The Prime Minister said in the House as long ago as 11 July that we would consider giving help to the New Zealand authorities if they asked for it. The Prime Minister agreed to a request from the New Zealand Government to send a British expert in underwater explosions. We have urged the French, following M. Fabius' admission that French agents were responsible for the sinking, to act swiftly to compensate those who have suffered in this affair.

We recognise that there is much concern over French nuclear tests in the South Pacific in New Zealand and elsewhere in the region. But as a nuclear weapon state dependent for its security on a national deterrent, we understand the reasons for the French tests. Our policy is to seek the basis for an adequately verifiable comprehensive treaty banning all tests by all countries; at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament we are doing just that.

We very much hope that France and New Zealand will quickly resolve the problems between them. We welcome the contacts that have taken place in New York, particularly the setting up of a working group of officials of the two countries, and

The Rt Hon Alfred Morris MP



hope that this will lead to solutions which satisfy
all the parties concerned.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'G' followed by a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

GEOFFREY HOWE

WRF 261/2

- 8 OCT 1985

8/10

TOP COPY

CA 24/10

M. J. J. J.

M. J. J. J.

3/10

~~SECRET~~

PM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE PARIS

TELNO 529

OF 030930Z OCTOBER 85

3/10

YOUR TEL 812: RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. YOU HANDLED THIS INTERVIEW EXACTLY RIGHT. WE AGREE THAT, PROVIDED NO MORE IS SAID ON THE FRENCH SIDE, IT IS BEST TO LEAVE MATTERS CONCERNING THE NOTE AS THEY ARE. WE SHALL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID THE ATTEMPT TO RETURN THE NOTE BECOMING PUBLIC. IF THE NEWS DID LEAK, WE WOULD SEEK TO LIMIT REACTIONS BY COMMENTING TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PRECISE STATUS OF A DIPLOMATIC NOTE WAS OF INTEREST ONLY TO THE PRACTITIONERS OF ARCANE DIPLOMATIC NICETIES - THE IMPORTANT THING WAS THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD NOT IN ANY CASE REJECTED THE RIGHT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE REPRESENTATIONS ABOUT THE BRITISH INTERESTS INVOLVED AND WE UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WERE NOW CONSIDERING ALL ASPECTS OF THE CASE, INCLUDING THOSE TO WHICH OUR NOTE REFERRED.
2. AT SOME STAGE THE PRESS HERE MAY FOLLOW UP WITH ENQUIRIES ABOUT THE FRENCH RESPONSE TO OUR NOTE. IT WOULD HELP TO KEEP THE MEDIA AND OTHER ENQUIRERS AT BAY (GREENPEACE IS ITSELF PRESSING FOR INFORMATION AND LIKELY TO STIR UP PUBLIC INTEREST IF NOTHING HAPPENS) IF THE FRENCH COULD GIVE SOME PUBLIC INDICATION OF READINESS TO PAY COMPENSATION IN THE CASE OF THE SHIP AS WELL AS TO THE RELATIVES OF THE DEAD MAN.
3. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN (MY TEL 526) THAT I REFERRED BRIEFLY TO THE COMPENSATION QUESTION WHEN I SPOKE TO DUMAS ON 1 OCTOBER.

IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF, IN ANY FURTHER CONTACTS WITH THE QUAI, YOU COULD FIND A WAY TO CONVEY THE THOUGHT IN PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE WITHOUT REOPENING WOUNDS. YOU COULD ALSO CONFIRM THAT WE HAD NO WISH TO BE DISCOURTEOUS IN NOT INFORMING THE QUAI THAT WE INTENDED TO MAKE PUBLIC OUR DEMARCHE. THE DECISION TO MAKE THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS TAKEN HERE ONLY SHORTLY BEFORE THE NEWS CONFERENCE (IE AFTER YOUR CALL ON BOIDEVAIX ON 24 SEPTEMBER) AS A WAY OF REDUCING UNHELPPFUL PRESSURE FOR MORE CONDEMNATORY STATEMENTS, WHICH WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY AVOIDED MAKING. THE TIMING ALLOWED US TO INFORM THE FRENCH EMBASSY HERE JUST 20 MINUTES BEFORE THE CONFERENCE BY TELEPHONE (FROM WED TO THE EMBASSY CHANCERY). WE SHOULD HAVE LIKED TO GIVE THE FRENCH MORE NOTICE, BUT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS NOT PRACTICABLE.

4. OUR MAIN PURPOSE HOWEVER IS TO PUT BEHIND US THE DISAGREEABLE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATTACK ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AND TO RETURN TO NORMAL AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. WE CONSIDER IT IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD NOT HAVE A CONTINUING BAD PATCH WITH THE FRENCH, WHOM WE WISH TO WORK CLOSELY WITH OVER THE EC INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, AND WHILE THERE ARE INCIDENTAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEM TO ACT CONTRARY TO OUR INTERESTS EG ON THE FALKLANDS VOTE IN THE UN. THE BEST WAY OF AVOIDING FURTHER DAMAGE IS TO KEEP UP THE PROCESS OF CONSULTATION ALREADY PLANNED, WITH THE BRAITHWAITE/VIDAL MEETING ON 7 OCTOBER AND DEREK THOMAS/MOREL ON 14 OCTOBER. BOIDEVAIX'S COMMENTS ON RESUMED ROSS/PUS TALKS ARE ENCOURAGING AND, WHILE WE SHOULD NOT BE SEEN TO BE RUNNING AFTER THE FRENCH, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF IN YOUR CONTACTS YOU COULD RESPOND BY SAYING THAT WE TOO SHOULD LIKE TO SEE THE MEETING REINSTATED SOONER RATHER THAN LATER.

5. WE HAVE HAD IN MIND THE POSSIBILITY OF A COORDINATORS' MEETING AT THE END OF OCTOBER, BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER SAMUEL WILL HAVE TAKEN UP HIS POST IN TIME TO UNDERTAKE THIS. THE HEAD OF WED MAY TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF HIS VISIT TO PARIS ON 19 OCTOBER TO HAVE AN INITIAL ROUND WITH PLAISANT ON IDEAS FOR INCLUSION IN THE JOINT REPORT ON BILATERAL RELATIONS TO THE NOVEMBER 18 SUMMIT.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WED.
TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL
FROM PARIS
TO DESKBY 011200Z FCO
TELNO 825
OF 011130Z OCTOBER 85

YOUR TELNO 521: MSE.

1. DUMAS' MESSAGE ALMOST CERTAINLY REFLECTS ELYSEE RESENTMENT OF OUR OFFICIAL COMMENT ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR. MITTERRAND'S PIQUE MAY WELL HAVE REQUIRED THE QUAI TO DREDGE UP THE PRESS REPORTS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S LETTER TO REAGAN, IN ADDITION TO THEIR ACTION ON ROSS'S VISIT.

2. YOUR REPLY MIGHT MAKE THREE POINTS:

(A) WE ATTACH HIGH IMPORTANCE TO THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN HEADS OF GOVERNMENT.

(B) WE DO NOT THEREFORE COMMENT ON PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT SUCH CORRESPONDENCE.

(C) FOR DUMAS' PERSONAL INFORMATION YOU COULD CONFIRM THAT A LETTER WAS SENT BY THE PRIME MINISTER DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE MERITS OF AN OFFER BASED ON EQUIPMENT IN SERVICE WITH THE BRITISH ARMY. BUT PRESS REPORTS OF THE LETTER WERE INACCURATE AND MISLEADING: IT CONTAINED NO REFERENCE TO SDI, NOR TO FRANCE.

3. IF YOU WISHED TO PUT THE BALL BACK INTO DUMAS' COURT YOU COULD REFER TO THE FRENCH FAILURE TO ISSUE A FORMAL DENIAL OF THE RUMOURS OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR IN RESPONSE TO THE REQUEST IN YOUR LETTER OF 6 SEPTEMBER (YOUR TELNO 470). BUT THE TWO QUESTIONS ARE NOT RELATED AND I WOULD RECOMMEND AGAINST LINKING THEM, PARTICULARLY AS IN ONE CASE WE ARE ASKING FOR A FORMAL DEMENTI AND IN THE OTHER CASE WOULD REFUSE TO ISSUE ONE.

FRETWELL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~SECRET~~

FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 812
OF 271530Z SEPTEMBER 85

TOP COPY

WRF 261/2

3 OCT 1985
(FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

MIPT: CALL ON BOIDEVAIX: RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR

CP 3/10

SUMMARY

1. QUAI INSTRUCTED TO RETURN OUR NOTE ON RAINBOW WARRIOR.

DETAIL

2. I CALLED ON BOIDEVAIX, DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE QUAI, AT HIS REQUEST THIS MORNING. HE SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM ME THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT HAVE WISHED TO ACCEPT (N'AURAIT PAS SOUHAITE ACCEPTER) THE NOTE ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR WHICH I HAD DELIVERED ON 24 SEPTEMBER BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICITY ACCOMPANYING ITS PRESENTATION. HE WAS THEREFORE RETURNING IT TO ME. HE PLACED IT ON THE TABLE BETWEEN US. HE THEN CONTINUED ON A PERSONAL BASIS (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT THERE HAD BEEN A VERY STRONG REACTION IN THE ELYSEE TO THE NEWS THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE SPOKESMAN HAD FORMALLY ANNOUNCED THE PRESENTATION OF THE NOTE. AT THE TIME WHEN HE TELEPHONED (MY TELNO 792) IT HAD APPEARED LIKELY THAT THERE WOULD BE A RESOUNDING ANTI-BRITISH DECLARATION BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IN RESPONSE TO THE NOTE. THE QUAI HAD MANAGED TO RESTRAIN THIS AND IT WOULD NOT NOW HAPPEN. HOWEVER, HE WAS UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS TO RETURN THE NOTE TO ME, USING THE FORMULA IN THE SECOND SENTENCE OF THIS PARAGRAPH. I ASKED HIM WHETHER THERE WAS SOMETHING IN THE CONTENT OF THE NOTE TO WHICH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OBJECTED. IT PUT ON RECORD THE UNDISPUTABLE FACT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAD A LOCUS STANDI IN THE MATTER AND CALLED FOR FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION OF COMPENSATION. THERE WAS GREAT PUBLIC CONCERN IN BRITAIN ABOUT THE INCIDENT AND FOLLOWING THE ACCEPTANCE OF RESPONSIBILITY BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SAY LESS THAN WAS IN THE NOTE, WHICH WAS INDEED A VERY RESTRAINED COMMUNICATION. I PERSONALLY REGRETTED THAT MY APPROACH TO THE QUAI HAD BEEN MADE PUBLIC WITHOUT MY HAVING AN OPPORTUNITY TO FOREWARN HIM, BUT THE OBJECT HAD BEEN TO DEFUSE PRESSURE FOR A MUCH STRONGER BRITISH REACTION.

3. BOIDEVAIX SAID THAT AS FAR AS HE AND OTHERS CONCERNED IN THE QUAI COULD SEE THERE WAS NOTHING EXCEPTIONABLE IN THE CONTENT OF THE NOTE. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD INDEED NOW DECIDED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF COMPENSATION. FRENCH OBJECTIONS, WHICH CAME FROM THE HIGHEST LEVELS, STEMMED FROM WHAT WAS SEEN AS THE EXPLOITATION OF A DIPLOMATIC ACT FOR PUBLICITY PURPOSES ADVERSE TO FRANCE.

4. I SAID THAT WE WERE IN A SITUATION WHICH WAS UNPRECEDENTED IN MY EXPERIENCE AND I WOULD HAVE TO SEEK INSTRUCTIONS ON HOW I SHOULD RESPOND

M. Clafre (129)

30/12

See submission

+ pc

30/9

RESPOND. A NOTE, WHOSE CONTENTS WERE NOT UNACCEPTABLE, HAD BEEN DELIVERED TO THE QUAI AND ACCEPTED. I DID NOT SEE HOW IT COULD SUBSEQUENTLY BECOME UNACCEPTABLE. BOIDEVAIX REPEATED THE FORMULA WHICH HAD BEEN IMPOSED ON HIM AND SAID HE HAD NO ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE. I SAID THERE WOULD BE AN EXPLOSION IN THE BRITISH PRESS IF IT WERE TO COME OUT THAT THE BRITISH COMMUNICATION HAD BEEN REJECTED IN THIS WAY BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. BOIDEVAIX SAID THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT POINT WHICH HE WOULD COMMUNICATE TO DUMAS' CABINET IMMEDIATELY. I ASKED HIM WHETHER HE HAD THOUGHT OF ANY POSSIBLE WAY OUT OF THE IMPASSE: MIGHT I FOR INSTANCE RE-PRESENT THE NOTE, POSSIBLY WITH MINOR MODIFICATIONS, WITH AN UNDERSTANDING THAT IF QUESTIONS EVER AROSE BOTH SIDES WOULD SAY THAT THERE HAD BEEN SOME TECHNICAL FLAW IN THE NOTE WHEN IT WAS FIRST PRESENTED? BOIDEVAIX SAID HE SIMPLY DID NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS WOULD HELP OR NOT. HE AGAIN INDICATED THAT THE QUAI WOULD NOT HAVE WISHED TO PROCEED IN THIS WAY BUT WAS BOUND BY ELYSEE INSTRUCTIONS.

5. AFTER SOME FURTHER DISCUSSION I DECLINED TO TAKE THE NOTE AND SUGGESTED THAT THE STATE OF PLAY WE HAD REACHED, SINCE THE NOTE LAY ON THE TABLE BETWEEN US WAS THAT IT HAD BEEN "REMISE" BUT NOT "REPRISE" IE HAD BEEN RETURNED BUT NOT TAKEN BACK. HE AGREED AFTER SOME HESITATION THAT THIS WAS A FACTUAL STATEMENT OF THE POSITION.

6. WHEN I MET HIM AGAIN HALF AN HOUR LATER AT LUNCH HE SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH ROSS THE SECRETARY GENERAL, WHO WAS AT THE TIME IN THE ELYSEE. THEIR COMBINED VIEW, INCLUDING THAT OF THE ELYSEE, WAS THAT THE MATTER SHOULD BE LEFT ON PRECISELY THIS BASIS (RETURNED BUT NOT TAKEN BACK) WITHOUT FURTHER ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE AMBIGUITY. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ON THE FRENCH SIDE THERE WOULD BE ANY PUBLICITY FOR WHAT HAD OCCURRED. I SAID I WOULD SEEK INSTRUCTIONS,

7. THERE MUST BE A SLIGHT RISK THAT AT SOME POINT THE ELYSEE WILL CLAIM THAT THE NOTE WAS REJECTED. BUT THE FACTS ARE THAT IT WAS PROPERLY DELIVERED AND ACCEPTED ON 24 SEPTEMBER AND THAT IT REMAINS IN THE QUAI. I DOUBT WHETHER WE HAVE ANYTHING TO GAIN BY SEEKING TO CLARIFY THE SITUATION FURTHER. MY RECOMMENDATION IS THEREFORE THAT WE SHOULD LEAVE THE MATTER AS IT STANDS. IT WILL HOWEVER BE IMPORTANT TO AVOID PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THIS EXCHANGE WITH BOIDEVAIX, SINCE THE FRENCH WOULD PRESUMABLY THEN TRY TO INSIST THAT THE NOTE HAD BEEN DEEMED UNACCEPTABLE.

8. BOIDEVAIX SAID THAT THERE WOULD BE NO (NO) PARALLEL ACTION IN LONDON TO RETURN THE NOTE GIVEN TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

FRETWELL

TOP COPY

~~SECRET~~

LORF 2612

See submission

RECEIVED

- 3 OCT 1985

+pc

30/9

FM PARIS

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 811

OF 271509Z SEPTEMBER 85

3/10

(FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY)

MY TELNO 805: POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT BY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF QUAI
D'O RSAY

SUMMARY

1. BOIDEVAIX, DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL AT THE QUAI, CONFIRMS THAT
ROSS'S VISIT FOR TALKS WITH THE PUS CAN SOON BE REINSTATED.

DETAIL

2. I RAISED THIS WITH BOIDEVAIX AFTER WE HAD DEALT WITH OTHER
MATTERS. HE ALLUDED TO THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE ARISING FROM THE
HIGH LEVEL REACTION TO THE BRITISH NOTE ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, BUT
HASTENED TO REASSURE ME THAT THERE WAS NO INTENTION TO REDUCE LINKS
AT THE DIPLOMATIC LEVEL. I ASKED WHETHER WE COULD START THINKING
NOW ABOUT REINSTATING THE VISIT. HE THEN SAID (PLEASE PROTECT) THAT
THERE WAS AN EXTRA POLITICAL FACTOR: DUMAS FELT THAT MATTERS
RELATING TO THE GORBACHEV VISIT SHOULD NOT BE DEALT WITH BY THE
SECRETARY-GENERAL AND THAT HE SHOULD HANDLE THEM PERSONALLY WITH HIS
OPPOSITE NUMBERS. ONCE CONTACT HAD TAKEN PLACE ON THE SUBJECT
BETWEEN YOU AND DUMAS IT WOULD THEREFORE BE POSSIBLE TO REARRANGE
ROSS' VISIT: IT COULD INDEED TAKE PLACE ON THE NEXT DAY. HOWEVER AS
FAR AS BOIDEVAIX KNEW, NO CONTACT BETWEEN MINISTERS WAS
ENVISAGED UNTIL THE NEXT COUNCIL MEETING ON 21 OCTOBER. UNLESS
SOMETHING ELSE AROSE, ROSS' VISIT MIGHT THEREFORE HAVE TO BE
POSTPONED UNTIL THE LAST WEEK IN OCTOBER. HE CONCLUDED BY
REITERATING THAT THERE WAS NO CHILL IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THAT
THE POSTPONEMENT SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED IN THIS LIGHT.

3. I HAVE SINCE SPOKEN TO ROSS WHO CONFIRMED IN VERY AMICABLE TERMS
THAT THERE WAS NO CHILL AND THAT A NEW DATE SHOULD BE FOUND IN THE
NEAR FUTURE.

COMMENT

/4.

4. THIS IS REASSURING, ALTHOUGH I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT SOMEONE IN THE ELYSEE HAS PUT A FINGER IN THE PIE TO DISCOURAGE AN EARLY FRANCO-BRITISH GET-TOGETHER AND TO INSIST THAT MATTERS SUCH AS THE GORBACHEV VISIT SHOULD BE HANDLED ONLY AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. THERE IS ALMOST CERTAINLY A LINK WITH ELYSEE INTERVENTION IN THE MATTER OF OUR NOTE ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, ON WHICH SEE MIFT (NOT TO ALL.)

FRETWELL

pa.
(Rev)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~copy on FP02/12.
FP2 175/1

FM FCO
TO DESKBY 271130Z PARIS
TELNO 520
OF 271030Z SEPTEMBER 85

✓ RM

MY TELNO 516: ~~NT~~ POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT
THE QUAI D'ORSAY

1. AS FORESHADOWED IN TUR, ROSS TELEPHONED THE PUS THIS MORNING
TO SAY THAT HE WAS QUOTE VERY SORRY NOT TO BE ABLE TO GO TO
CHEVENING UNQUOTE. HE ACCEPTED THE PUS'S OFFER TO REARRANGE THE
TALKS QUOTE WITH GREAT PLEASURE UNQUOTE, ADDING THAT THE PUS'S
DATES WERE QUOTE HIS DATES UNQUOTE.
2. THE PUS EXPRESSED WARM APPRECIATION FOR M ROSS'S TELEPHONE
CALL, AND SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MANY
PREOCCUPATIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS TIME IN OFFICE. HE
PROMISED TO BE IN TOUCH WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR ABOUT
REARRANGING THE TALKS, IF POSSIBLE BEFORE THE ANGLO-FRENCH
SUMMIT.

HOWE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

134

FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 271100Z FCO
TELNO 805
OF 271000Z SEPTEMBER 85

Re.
(Rainbow W)

STAGIVE 12 1751/1
1 OCT

~~TOP~~
YOUR TELNO 516: POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT BY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF QUAI
D'ORSAY

1. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO CALL ON BOIDEVAIX AT THE QUAI AT NOON AND MAY ALSO HAVE A CHANCE FOR A WORD WITH ROSS AT AN EC LUNCH TODAY. I WILL REPORT FURTHER AFTER THESE CONTACTS.
2. IN THE MEANTIME IT SEEMS TO ME LIKELY THAT THE CANCELLATION OF ROSS' VISIT IS INTENDED TO INDICATE FRENCH DISPLEASURE AT WHAT THEY SEE AS BRITISH INTERVENTION IN THE AFFAIR OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AND AT THE MANNER IN WHICH A DIPLOMATIC DEMARCHE WAS MADE PUBLIC IMMEDIATELY AFTER DELIVERY. THE DUTCH AND SWISS ARE SAID TO HAVE TAKEN UP WITH THE FRENCH THOSE ASPECTS OF THE CASE WHICH CONCERN THEM, BUT WITHOUT PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENTS.
3. THE FRENCH ARE ULTRA-SENSITIVE AT THIS TIME TO ANY SUSPICION THAT ONE OF THEIR CLOSE PARTNERS IN THE COMMUNITY MIGHT WISH TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DEPLORABLE MESS THEY ARE NOW IN. OUR NOTE AND SUBSEQUENT ANNOUNCEMENT MAY HAVE STRUCK THEM AS A VERY UNKIND CUT. WHILE IT IS NO DOUBT IMPORTANT FOR US TO COPE WITH THE PRESSURES OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UK, AS REFLECTED IN MINISTERS' MAILBAGS, THE PROBLEM IN FRANCE IS OF A QUITE DIFFERENT ORDER OF MAGNITUDE: THE HIGHEST PERSONALITIES IN THE LAND ARE FIGHTING FOR POLITICAL SURVIVAL AND EVEN THE FABRIC OF THE STATE IS BEGINNING TO SHAKE UNDER THE IMPACT OF REPEATED REVELATIONS, DENUNCIATIONS, ATTEMPTS TO ACKNOWLEDGE BITS OF TRUTH WHILE CONCEALING OTHERS, PRESSURES ON THE GOVERNMENT FROM THE ARMED SERVICES, AND THE DESPERATE ATTEMPTS TO FIND ANSWERS WHICH WILL SOMEHOW SATISFY PUBLIC OPINION WHILE KEEPING THE PRESIDENT ABOVE THE MELEE. THE AFFAIR MAY OR MAY NOT GO AS FAR AS WATERGATE IN THE END, BUT THE SAME APPALLING CONFLICTS OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR LARGE SCALE DECEPTION ARE NOW RACKING THE BODY POLITIC OF FRANCE.
4. IN THIS SITUATION WE HAVE TO EXPECT THAT THEY WILL REACT TO ANYTHING THEY CAN CONSTRUE AS HOSTILE OR AS LIKELY TO MAKE IT MORE AWKWARD TO FIND A WAY OUT OF THE SITUATION, EG POSSIBLY BY DISCREET DEALS WITH THE FAMILY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER, GREENPEACE AND THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT. THEY ARE ON THE RUN AND DO NOT WANT OTHERS TO JOIN THE PACK CALLING FOR COMPENSATION. IF THEY THINK WE ARE AGAINST THEM IN SOME WAY THEY WILL RESENT IT AND REMEMBER IT. FEELINGS ON THE RIGHT OF FRENCH POLITICS ARE EVEN STRONGER ON THIS MATTER THAN THOSE OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT: FURTHER PUBLIC COMMENT COULD RISK SOURING OUR RELATIONS NOT ONLY WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT BUT WITH ITS LIKELY SUCCESSOR.

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5. I ACCORDINGLY AGREE VERY STRONGLY WITH THE PUS^h INSTINCT ON THE CANCELLATION OF THE VISIT: THAT LEAST SAID, SOONEST MENDED. I WILL EMPHASISE TO BOIDEVAIX THE POINTS IN PARAGRAPH 4 OF YOUR TELEGRAM.

FRETWELL



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WRF 261/2	
REC'D	
- 3 OCT 1985	
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See response
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B 27/9
CP
3/10

FM PCO
TO DESKBY 270730Z PARIS
TELNO 516
OF 261920Z SEPTEMBER 85

POSTPONEMENT OF VISIT BY SECRETARY GENERAL OF QUAI D'ORSAY

1 THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR CALLED ON THE PUS THIS EVENING TO SAY THAT ANDRE ROSS, THE SECRETARY GENERAL AT THE QUAI D'ORSAY, HAD DECIDED TO POSTPONE HIS VISIT TO BRITAIN FOR TALKS WITH THE PUS, WHICH HAD BEEN DUE TO TAKE PLACE AT CHEVENING ON MONDAY 30 SEPTEMBER. M. VIOT SAID THAT M. ROSS HAD DECIDED TO POSTPONE THE TALKS UNTIL CONDITIONS WERE BETTER. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION FROM THE PUS, HE INDICATED THAT BY 'CONDITIONS' HE MEANT BOTH CONDITIONS IN PARIS AND CONDITIONS IN RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND FRANCE. THE AMBASSADOR ADDED THAT M. ROSS WAS VERY SORRY ABOUT THIS POSTPONEMENT, AND THAT THERE WAS NOTHING PERSONAL IN IT. (THE PUS AND M.ROSS HAVE NEVER MET.)

2 IN REPLY THE PUS SAID THAT HE TOO WAS VERY SORRY TO HEAR THIS NEWS. HE WAS DISAPPOINTED THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MEET M. ROSS, AND CONCERNED THAT THE CONDITION OF ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS WAS SUCH AS TO CAUSE M. ROSS TO POSTPONE HIS VISIT. AT THIS POINT M. VIOT INTERJECTED THAT HE HAD ONLY SAID THAT THE POSTPONEMENT WAS UNTIL 'CONDITIONS BETWEEN US WERE BETTER'. IN CONCLUSION, THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID THAT M. ROSS INTENDED TO TELEPHONE THE PUS TOMORROW. BOTH THE PUS AND THE

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AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THE VISIT SHOULD BE REINSTATED AT AN EARLY STAGE.

3 AS THE PUS INDICATED TO YOU ON THE TELEPHONE, WE SHOULD BE GRATEFUL TO HAVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF WHAT LIES BEHIND THIS DECISION. THE PUS'S INSTINCT IS THAT OUR REACTION SHOULD BE ONE OF LEAST SAID, SOONEST MENDED. HE DOES NOT, FOR INSTANCE, THINK IT WOULD BE WISE FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MENTION THIS TO M. DUMAS IN NEW YORK.

4 - THE PUS IS ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE FRENCH MAY NOT HAVE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PURPOSE OF HIS HANDING OVER THE NOTE ABOUT COMPENSATION FOR THE LOSS OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AT A PREARRANGED MEETING WITH THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR WAS TO MINIMISE THE COMMENT: THE FACT THAT THE NOTE WAS TO BE HANDED OVER WAS ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS. THE PUS ALSO WONDERS WHETHER THE FRENCH HAVE APPRECIATED THE STRENGTH OF FEELING IN THIS COUNTRY ABOUT THIS ISSUE: MINISTERS HAVE RECEIVED A SUBSTANTIAL MAILBAG.

HOWE



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TPZ 175/21 Mr. Hume
Mr. Dair

UNCLASSIFIED

FM WASHINGTON

TO TELETYPE (WESTERN EUROPEAN DEPARTMENT FCO)
TELETYPE

OF 261945Z SEPTEMBER 85

3) Enter + pa
(Greenpeace)

Red

27/9

Mr. Thompson

FROM S J GOMERSALL ESQ, WASHINGTON

*in the PT annex a more
substantial communication*

TO R CLARKE ESQ, WED, FCO

Pa.

27/9

US COMMENT ON FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS AND THE SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. AT THE REGULAR BRIEFING ON 25 SEPTEMBER, THE STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN WAS ASKED TO COMMENT ON PRIME MINISTER HAWKE'S STATEMENT THAT AUSTRALIA WOULD BE DISAPPOINTED IF THE UNITED STATES FAILED TO CONDEMN FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING AT MURUROA. HE SAID QUOTE THE UNITED STATES IS AWARE, OBVIOUSLY, OF THE FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING PROGRAM IN THE PACIFIC, WHICH GOES BACK MANY YEARS AND HAS TAKEN PLACE UNDERGROUND SINCE 1975. THE UNITED STATES NOTES FRENCH GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS THAT THE UNDERGROUND TESTING PROGRAM IS ESSENTIAL TO THE MODERNIZATION OF THE FRENCH NUCLEAR DETERRENT. WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS REGARDING FRENCH TESTING IN THE PACIFIC. FRANCE HAS AN INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR FORCE, HOWEVER, AND IT REGARDS THESE MATTERS AS FRENCH DECISIONS. BEYOND THAT, WE HAVE NO FURTHER COMMENT. UNQUOTE

2. ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR HE SAID QUOTE THIS IS A MATTER BETWEEN FRANCE AND NEW ZEALAND. BOTH COUNTRIES ARE INVESTIGATING THE MATTER. IT IS HIGHLY INAPPROPRIATE FOR US TO COMMENT AT THIS TIME. OUR POSITION ON VIOLENT ACTION RESULTING IN THE LOSS OF INNOCENT LIVES IS WELL KNOWN UNQUOTE. WHEN ASKED IF THIS WAS TANTAMOUNT TO A CONDEMNATION HE REPLIED QUOTE WE REGRET AND CONSIDER IT AN UNFORTUNATE THING WHEN THESE THINGS OCCUR UNQUOTE. HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF PUTTING FRANCE ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAD TAKEN PART IN ACTS OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

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REC'D	27 SEP 1985
FROM	
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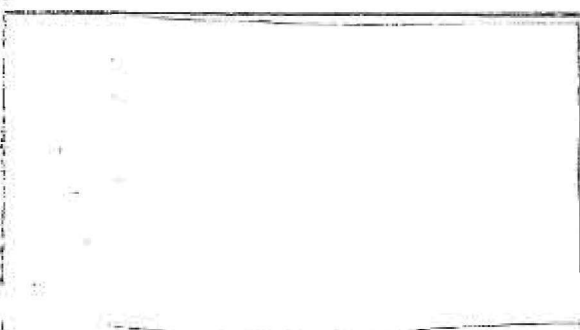
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FM FCO.
TO DESKBY 252130Z UKMIS NEW YORK
TELNO 413
OF 252000Z SEPTEMBER 1985

FOLLOWING FOR PRIVATE SECRETARY FROM PRIVATE OFFICE
YOUR TEL 760: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. YOU WILL NOW HAVE SEEN FCO TELS 508 AND 509 TO PARIS. WE ARE SENDING YOU SEPARATELY AN ACCOUNT OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S CALL ON THE PUS ON 25 SEPTEMBER, AT WHICH THE PUS STRESSED OUR DESIRE TO AVOID DRAMATISING OUR EXCHANGES ON GREENPEACE AND TO PREVENT IT BECOMING A MAJOR ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONS.
2. NO 10 HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE NOT MADE ANY COMMENT ON THIS ISSUE. THE DAILY MAIL COMMENT ON 24 SEPTEMBER WAS ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO NO 10 AND NEWS DEPARTMENT HAVE POINTED THIS OUT TO THE JOURNALIST CONCERNED. WE HAVE AGREED WITH NEWS DEPARTMENT THAT IT IS BEST TO MAKE NO FURTHER STATEMENTS ABOUT THE AFFAIR AT PRESENT, AND THAT THEY SHOULD CONFINE THEMSELVES TO DRAWING ON THE LINE SET OUT IN FCO TEL 508 TO PARIS AS THE NEED ARISES.

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WRF 26112	
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- 3 OCT 1985	
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CONFIDENTIAL
FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE PARIS
TELNO 511
OF 251830Z SEPT 85

FCO TEL 509: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. PUS TOOK ACTION ON 25 SEPTEMBER WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR AS ANNOUNCED IN TUR.
2. PUS DREW M. VIOT'S ATTENTION TO OUR STANDING IN THE AFFAIR, EXPLAINING OUR POSITION ALONG THE LINES OF PARA 2 OF OUR TELNO 508. HE WAS SORRY IF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD FELT THAT FCO SPOKESMAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON 24 SEPTEMBER HAD BEEN UNHELPFUL. IT HAD BEEN CONSIDERED THAT THE BEST WAY NOT TO DRAMATIZE THE SITUATION WAS TO ANNOUNCE THAT THE MATTER WOULD BE DEALT WITH IN THE COURSE OF A PRE-ARRANGED CALL. REPORTING IN THE BRITISH MEDIA OF THE FCO ANNOUNCEMENT HAD BEEN LARGELY LOW-KEY. BUT WE HAD TO MAKE IT CLEAR WITHOUT EXAGGERATING MATTERS THAT WE TOOK THE INCIDENT SERIOUSLY AND BELIEVED THAT COMPENSATION TO THOSE WHO HAD SUFFERED WAS NECESSARY.
3. M. VIOT DREW ATTENTION TO A STATEMENT MADE ON 25 SEPTEMBER BY THE QUAI SPOKESMAN THAT THE BRITISH DEMARCHE DID NOT CALL FOR A REPLY. HE HAD NO COMMENT OF SUBSTANCE TO MAKE. IT HAD HOWEVER SEEMED TO HIM DISCOURTEOUS THAT HIS VISIT TO THE FCO HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE. THE PUS ASSURED HIM THAT THIS HAD NOT

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BEEN THE INTENTION BUT RATHER THAT WE HAD WISHED TO DRAW THE STING FROM MEDIA INTEREST (IT APPEARS INCIDENTALLY TO HAVE HAD THIS EFFECT - THERE WERE NO QUESTIONS AT TODAY'S PCO NEWS CONFERENCE AND NO JOURNALISTS WERE AT THE PCO FOR M. VIOT'S CALL). WE NOTED THE QUAI'S REACTION BUT HOPED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD CAREFULLY CONSIDER THE COMPENSATION QUESTION. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE LENT SUPPORT TO THE CLAIMS OF OWNERS OF A FRENCH BOAT, IN ANALAGOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. IT WAS AGREED THAT NO FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT SHOULD BE MADE ABOUT THE AMBASSADOR'S VISIT, BUT THAT IF QUESTIONS WERE ASKED WE WOULD CONFIRM THAT PUS HAD DELIVERED A NOTE IN THE COURSE OF A CALL BY M. VIOT ON OTHER BUSINESS AS FORESHADOWED IN THE 24 SEPTEMBER ANNOUNCEMENT.

HOWE



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- 3 OCT 1985

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FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE PARIS

TELNO 509

OF 251030Z SEPTEMBER 85

MIPT: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. FCO SPOKESMAN MADE THE FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE ON 24 SEPTEMBER:

I) THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN PARIS, SIR JOHN FRETWELL, HAS THIS MORNING CALLED ON A SENIOR OFFICIAL AT THE FRENCH MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS TO DELIVER A NOTE DRAWING THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES' ATTENTION TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S STANDING IN THIS MATTER (THE 'RAINBOW WARRIOR' BEING A BRITISH SHIP) AND URGING THEM TO MAKE SWIFT COMPENSATION TO THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED LOSSES.

II) THE PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY AT THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE WILL TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF A CALL BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN ARRANGED FOR TOMORROW AFTERNOON, TO DELIVER A SIMILAR NOTE.

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-3 OCT 1985	

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FM FCO
TO IMMEDIATE PARIS
TELNO 508
OF 251030Z SEPTEMBER 85

YOUR TEL 787 AND WELLINGTON TEL 272: (NOT TO THE HAGUE):
GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. THANK YOU FOR THESE COMMENTS.
2. WE HAVE NO WISH TO RUB SALT IN FRENCH WOUNDS. NOR DO WE WISH TO APPEAR MORE AGGRIEVED THAN GREENPEACE. WE TOOK CARE TO AVOID IMPUGNING FRANCE PRIOR TO THE OFFICIAL FRENCH ADMISSION OF RESPONSIBILITY. OUR APPROACH NOW IS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE SPECIFIC BRITISH INTEREST IN COMPENSATION FOR THE LOSS OF A BRITISH SHIP. MINISTERS ARE UNDER PRESSURE FROM PUBLIC OPINION, (THE MEDIA, LETTERS FROM MPS ETC) TO TAKE ACTION WITH THE FRENCH IN SUPPORT OF BRITISH INTERESTS. DOMESTIC PUBLIC OPINION WOULD NOT ACCEPT SILENCE NOW THAT THE FRENCH HAVE ADMITTED THIS ACT OF VIOLENCE AGAINST A BRITISH SHIP IN A COMMONWEALTH AND ALLIED PORT. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE NETHERLANDS EMBASSY THAT THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT ARE CONSIDERING APPROACHES TO THE FRENCH ON COMPENSATION FOR THE DEATH OF THE DUTCH NATIONAL.
3. WE DO NOT INTEND TO INVOLVE OURSELVES IN THE DETAIL OF LEGAL

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CLAIMS WHETHER BY GREENPEACE OR BY THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT. OUR 'DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT' FOR GREENPEACE IS NOT FOR THE ORGANISATION ITSELF OR FOR WHAT IT STANDS FOR: IT WILL BE OF THE KIND

ALREADY PROVIDED BY YOUR APPROACH TO THE QUAI (YOUR TEL 789) AND THE PUS'S PARALLEL DEMARCHE HERE ON 25 SEPTEMBER (SEE MIFT). SHOULD THE NEW ZEALANDERS PUT IN A REQUEST FOR CONCERTED LEGAL ACTION (A SUGGESTION MADE AT BILATERAL TALKS WITH NEW ZEALAND OFFICIALS ON 18 SEPTEMBER) WE WOULD CONSIDER THIS ON ITS MERITS, BUT DO NOT AT FIRST SIGHT FAVOUR SUCH AN IDEA. NOR DO WE FAVOUR THE SUGGESTION THAT BRITAIN MIGHT ACT AS 'A FRIEND AT COURT'. IT IS DOUBTFUL HOW FAR BRITAIN COULD ACT AS AN EFFECTIVE MEDIATOR - THERE WOULD BE OVERWHELMING PRESSURE HERE TO TAKE THE SIDE OF NEW ZEALAND. NEWS DEPARTMENT HAVE TAKEN THE LINE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS THAT WE HOPE THAT FRANCE AND NEW ZEALAND WILL RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES.

4. THE ABOVE IS PRINCIPALLY FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION. BUT YOU MAY DRAW ON IT AS YOU THINK APPROPRIATE IN CONFIDENTIAL EXCHANGES AND OFF THE RECORD BRIEFINGS. WELLINGTON MAY PASS TEXTS OF OUR NOTE (AS IN FCO TEL 342 TO URMIS NEW YORK) IN CONFIDENCE TO THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES. FCO SPOKESMAN ANNOUNCED ON 24 SEPTEMBER THE ACTION TAKEN IN PARIS AND THE INTENTION TO TAKE PARALLEL ACTION IN LONDON - TEXT OF ANNOUNCEMENT IN MIFT.

5. (FOR WELLINGTON) IF NEW ZEALAND LEGAL ADVISERS GET IN TOUCH WITH FCO LEGAL ADVISERS THE LATTER WOULD OF COURSE BE WILLING TO DISCUSS ANY POINTS RAISED ON A COMPLETELY INFORMAL AND STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS. BUT YOU SHOULD NOT ENCOURAGE THEM TO DO SO. WE SHOULD NOT WANT TO APPEAR TO THE FRENCH TO BE ADVISING NEW ZEALAND ON HOW TO PRESENT ITS CLAIM.

6. WE ARE CONSIDERING SEPARATELY IMPLICATIONS FOR RENEWAL OF ACCESS TO EC FOR NEW ZEALAND PRODUCTS.

HOWE

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FM PARIS.
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 792
OF 241615Z SEPTEMBER 85

R2 175/1	
RECEIVED IN PARIS BY HQ 87	
25 SEP 1985	
COMM. O. 110088	RE. 370V
PA	A. 100 taken

MY TELNO 789: REENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

116

1. BOIDEVAIX TELEPHONED THIS AFTERNOON TO SAY, ON A PERSONAL BASIS, THAT THE FCO SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE DELIVERY OF THE BRITISH NOTE HAD CREATED A VERY DISAGREEABLE IMPRESSION IN THE QUAI. THEY HAD NOT ASSUMED WHEN I CALLED THIS MORNING THAT SUCH AN ANNOUNCEMENT WAS ENVISAGED AND WERE SURPRISED AT THIS MANNER OF CONDUCTING BUSINESS. THEY WERE ALSO SURPRISED TO SEE THAT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S CALL AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE TOMORROW HAD BEEN ANNOUNCED IN ADVANCE AND LINKED WITH THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR. I SAID I WOULD TAKE NOTE OF HIS COMMENT. HE REPEATED THAT IT WAS NOT AN OFFICIAL COMMUNICATION.

2. THIS MAY MEAN THAT THE QUAI WILL BRIEF THE PRESS IN A HOSTILE SENSE ABOUT THE BRITISH INTERVENTION. FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF OUR RELATIONS WITH FRANCE IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO KEEP MATTERS IN A LOW KEY AND TO AVOID ANY IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE SAILING IN WITH GUNS BLAZING.

3. IT WOULD IN GENERAL BE PREFERABLE TO TELL THE QUAI AT THE TIME IF WE INTEND TO MAKE AN IMMEDIATE ANNOUNCEMENT OF AN OFFICIAL DEMARCHE.

FRETWELL

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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FM PARIS
 TO IMMEDIATE FCO
 TELNO 791
 OF 241508Z SEPTEMBER 85

 P2 175/1
 RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 16 05

MY TELNO 757 (NOT TO ALL): GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. I HAD A WORD THIS MORNING WITH COLLIARD, MITTERRAND'S DIRECTEUR DE CABINET, AT A RECEPTION. HE EXPRESSED BITTERNESS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE FRENCH PRESS: THEY HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN THE HEADS OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND ADMIRAL LACOSTE: HOW MUCH MORE WERE THEY HOPING TO GET? HE ALLUDED TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH SECRET SERVICES. I SAID THAT AS FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED SUCH STORIES WERE AN INVENTION OF THE FRENCH PRESS AND DEVOID OF ANY FOUNDATION. HE DID NOT PURSUE THE POINT, BUT I WAS LEFT WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT ALLEGATIONS SERVED UP BY THE DGSE MAY HAVE LEFT A MARK.

2. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE NOTE WHICH I HAD JUST DELIVERED TO THE QUAI (MY TELNO 789) AND TO TELL HIM THAT WE WERE NOT TRYING TO EXERT PRESSURE OR BECOME INVOLVED BEYOND THE ACTION WHICH NECESSARILY AROSE FROM THE FACT THAT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR WAS BRITISH. HE TOOK THIS UP AND ASKED WHETHER BRITAIN MIGHT PLAY A ROLE IN HELPING TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING WITH NEW ZEALAND. I ASKED WHETHER I SHOULD TAKE THIS AS AN OFFICIAL SUGGESTION. HE AVOIDED A DIRECT REPLY BUT SAID THAT BRITAIN WOULD NO DOUBT BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED WHEN THERE WAS NEXT A QUESTION OF NEW ZEALAND LAMB IMPORTS INTO THE COMMUNITY.

Blackmail?

3. WE CAN TAKE THIS AS A HINT, FROM A SOURCE VERY CLOSE TO THE PRESIDENT, THAT THE FRENCH ARE WONDERING WHETHER WE CAN HELP IN SOME WAY AND THAT THE IDEA IS LINKED IN THEIR MINDS WITH THE ROLE WHICH THEY BELIEVE WE PLAY AS A FRIEND AND ADVOCATE OF NEW ZEALAND'S INTERESTS.

FRETWELL

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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(21A)

FM WELLINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 272
OF 240457Z SEPTEMBER 85

FPZ 175/1

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY 02. 52

GREENPEACE: PARIS TELNO 787

(113A)

1. I SHARE THE VIEW THAT IT IS IN OUR OWN AND THE GENERAL WESTERN INTEREST FOR FRANCE AND NEW ZEALAND TO SEEK AN ACCOMMODATION NOW THAT FABIUS'S FRANK IF TARDY ADMISSION OF FRENCH GUILT HAS TERMINATED THE LIES AND EVASIONS AND OPENED THE WAY FOR MORE CONSTRUCTIVE MOVES.

2. IN FACT, DESPITE SOME INITIAL 'GRANDSTANDING' FOR THE LOCAL MEDIA BY MR LANGE THE OFFICIAL NEW ZEALAND REACTIONS HAVE BEEN MEASURED, MODERATE AND IMPECCABLY JURISPRUDENTIAL. IT IS A FACT THAT NEW ZEALAND WAS SUBJECTED TO AN EXTERNAL TERRORIST ATTACK WHICH INVOLVED THE SINKING OF A PEACEFUL BRITISH SHIP IN A NEW ZEALAND HARBOUR AND THE CONSEQUENT MURDER OF ONE OF THE CREW. IT HAS TAKEN SOME WEEKS OF EVASION AND DISINFORMATION BEFORE THE FRENCH HAVE EVENTUALLY COME UP WITH A FRANK ADMISSION OF THEIR NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY. THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT IS MUCH ENCOURAGED BY THE TONE OF THE COMMUNICATION WHICH PREMIER LANGE RECEIVED FROM PREMIER FABIUS YESTERDAY AND WHICH I AM TOLD SPOKE IN TERMS OF SOME REPARATION BY FRANCE. THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT HAS PARTICULARLY WELCOMED THE FRENCH ADMISSION AND WILL, I JUDGE, CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THIS MATTER IN AN UNEMOTIONAL (BUT STRICTLY LEGAL) WAY. THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT WILL NOW TAKE ITS COURSE AND THE NEW ZEALANDERS WILL EXPECT COOPERATION (OR INDEED SOME INITIATIVE FROM THE FRENCH) IN SEEKING OUT AND PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON RAINBOW WARRIOR. MR LANGE DOES NOT ACCEPT THAT THE DEFENCE OF ACTING UNDER ORDERS IS A VALID ONE.

3. LIKE MY COLLEAGUE IN PARIS, I SEE NO PARTICULAR ROLE FOR US TO PLAY AT THE MOMENT. HOWEVER, IN CONVERSATION WITH MORRISH (SECRETARY MFA) TODAY, HE INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT'S LEGAL ADVISERS WOULD PROBABLY WISH TO BE IN TOUCH WITH OURS IN THE FCO TO CLARIFY SOME LEGAL ASPECTS, NOT LEAST BECAUSE THE RAINBOW WARRIOR WAS BRITISH REGISTERED. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS, AND PARTICULARLY IF IT IS DECIDED TO TAKE ACTION WITH THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES ON THE LINES RECOMMENDED IN PARA 2 OF YOUR TELNO 341 TO UKMIS NEW YORK IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE IF I COULD BE GIVEN PERMISSION TO INFORM THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES BOTH OF OUR INTENTION (AND OF THE TEXT OF OUR NOTE) BEFORE IT BECOMES PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE.

O'LEARY

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FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 789
OF 241030Z SEPTEMBER 85

RE 175/1
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO 52
24 SEP 1985

(111)

(112)

YOUR TELNOS 341 AND 342 TO UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKMIS NEW YORK TELNO
733: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

(113)

1. I CALLED ON THE DEPUTY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE QUAI, BOIDEVAIX, THIS MORNING, AND HANDED OVER THE NOTE. I SAID THAT YOU MIGHT MENTION THE SUBJECT TO DUMAS THIS EVENING. BOIDEVAIX SAID THE NOTE WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO DUMAS BEFORE THEN.

2. WE HAD VERY LITTLE DISCUSSION: BOIDEVAIX DID NOT WISH TO OPEN THE SUBJECT UP. I SAID THAT FOLLOWING THE OFFICIAL FRENCH ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RESPONSIBILITY IT WAS NECESSARY TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR WAS A BRITISH SHIP AND TO EXPRESS OUR VIEWS ON COMPENSATION. I REFERRED TO THE EXTENT OF PUBLIC INTEREST AND CONCERN IN THE UK. BOIDEVAIX TOOK NOTE.

FRETWELL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P2 175/1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 737
OF 231800Z SEPTEMBER 85

GREENPEACE: UK PUBLIC LINE

1. AS MAY BE SEEN FROM REPORTING TELEGRAMS IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT HOW THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR WILL DEVELOP FROM HERE ON. IT IS THEREFORE IMPORTANT THAT ANY PUBLIC COMMENT BY HMG, WHILE NOT HIDING THE POSSIBLE LEGAL IMPLICATIONS ON BRITISH REGISTRATION OF RAINBOW WARRIOR, SHOULD AVOID SEEMING TO RUB SALT IN THE WOUNDS. IN THIS CONTEXT THE FCO SPOKESMAN'S REFERENCE TO 'APPROPRIATE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR GREENPEACE' (COI RETRACT 025) HAS ALREADY ATTRACTED ATTENTION. THE AUDIO-VISUAL MEDIA HAVE BEEN ON TO THE EMBASSY DESCRIBING THIS LINE AS 'RATHER UNFRIENDLY', AND IMPLYING THAT IT IS NOT VERY HELPFUL TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT AT A DIFFICULT PERIOD.

2. SEVERAL HIGHLY-PLACED FRENCH POLITICIANS ARE NURTURING THE THOUGHT THAT BRITAIN MIGHT ACT AS A FRIEND AT COURT IN HELPING TO SORT OUT THE TANGLE WITH NEW ZEALAND. THERE HAS BEEN NO OFFICIAL APPROACH BUT IT WOULD NOT BE SURPRISING IF THE IDEA CAME UP. I ASSUME IT WOULD BE IN OUR INTEREST, AND MORE GENERALLY IN THE WESTERN INTEREST, FOR FRANCE AND NEW ZEALAND TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION. FABIOUS' ADMISSION OF GUILT OUGHT TO OPEN THE WAY FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE STAGE IF THE NEW ZEALANDERS RESPOND APPROPRIATELY. I SEE NO PARTICULAR ROLE FOR US TO PLAY AT THE MOMENT, BUT I HOPE WE CAN AVOID GIVING THE IMPRESSION THAT WE WANT TO EXPLOIT THE ADMISSION AND ADD TO THE PRESSURES ON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

FRETWELL

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FM UKMIS NEW YORK

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 733

OF 232359Z SEPTEMBER 85

FOR 175/1	
RECEIVED IN SECRETARY 18.52	
17 SEP 1985	
✓	Rm

(11) (112)
FOLLOWING FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

YOUR TELNOS 341 AND 342: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. THE SECRETARY OF STATE HAS SEEN COPIES OF TURS AND HIS
CONTENT THAT THE PUS SHOULD HAND OVER A NOTE TO THE
FRENCH AMBASSADOR AS PROPOSED. HE AGREES THAT HM AMBASSADOR
PARIS SHOULD TAKE SUPPORTING ACTION THERE AND WE WILL BRIEF
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MENTION THE SUBJECT TO DUMAS HERE
THIS EVENING.

THOMSON

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FM PCO

TO DESKBY 231430Z UKMIS NEW YORK

TELNO 342

OF 231330Z SEPTEMBER 85

FOLLOWING FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S PARTY
MIPT: GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PROPOSED NOTE:

(NORMAL BEGINNING) ... TO THE FRENCH EMBASSY/FRENCH MINISTRY OF
EXTERNAL RELATIONS ...

AND HAVE THE HONOUR TO REFER TO THE SINKING OF THE GREENPEACE
SHIP 'RAINBOW WARRIOR'.

THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE/BRITISH EMBASSY. HAVING NOTED
THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON 22 SEPTEMBER, WISH
TO REMIND THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S
LOCUS STANDI IN THE MATTER SINCE THE 'RAINBOW WARRIOR' IS A
BRITISH SHIP. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT VIEW THE INCIDENT WITH MUCH
CONCERN AND EXPECT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES TO GIVE SWIFT AND
FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION TO COMPENSATING THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED
LOSSES AS A RESULT OF IT.

(NORMAL ENDING)

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FM PCO

TO DESKBY 231430Z UKMIS NEW YORK (FOR SECRETARY OF STATE'S

TELNO 341

OP 231200Z SEPTEMBER 85

GREENPEACE RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. AT TODAY'S NEWS CONFERENCE. FOLLOWING M FABIOUS'S ADMISSION OF FRENCH RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SINKING, PCO SPOKESMAN TOOK FOLLOWING LINE:

I) THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT VIEWS WITH THE GRAVEST CONCERN ACTS SUCH AS THE SINKING OF THE BRITISH SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR WHEREVER THEY MAY OCCUR AND WHOEVER MAY COMMIT THEM.

II) WE HOPE THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES, HAVING ADMITTED RESPONSIBILITY. WILL ACT SWIFTLY TO COMPENSATE THOSE WHO HAVE SUFFERED IN THIS AFFAIR.

III) THERE IS NO CASE FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AS SUCH MAKING A CLAIM AGAINST THE FRENCH - IT IS PRIMARILY A MATTER FOR GREENPEACE AND THE FAMILY OF THE DUTCH CREW MEMBER WHO WAS KILLED.

WE SHOULD HOWEVER GIVE GREENPEACE APPROPRIATE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT.

2. WE RECOMMEND THAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN WITH THE FRENCH AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IN LONDON AND PARIS TO DRAW THEIR ATTENTION TO OUR LOCUS STANDI IN THE MATTER AND TO URGE THEM TO MAKE SWIFT COMPENSATION FOR THE LOSSES INCURRED. MIFT GIVES TEXT OF A NOTE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WE

(11)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WE PROPOSE SHOULD BE HANDED BY THE PUS TO THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR
HERE (WHO HAS ASKED TO CALL ON HIM ON ANOTHER MATTER) AND BY HM
AMBASSADOR PARIS TO A SENIOR MEMBER OF THE QUAL. THE SECRETARY
OF STATE MAY ALSO WISH TO SPEAK TO DUMAS IN NEW YORK.

3. GRATEFUL FOR AGREEMENT TO THIS PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION IN
LONDON AND PARIS.

HOWE

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IMMEDIATE

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UNCLASSIFIED

FM PARIS

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 231200Z FCO

TELNO 782

OF 231100Z SEPTEMBER 85

MY TELNO 778: GREENPEACE

SUMMARY

1. THE PRIME MINISTER ADMITS ON TELEVISION THAT THE FRENCH SECRET SERVICES WERE DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR.

DETAIL

2. SPEAKING ON TELEVISION YESTERDAY EVENING (22 SEPTEMBER) AND FLANKED BY HIS NEW MINISTER OF DEFENCE (QUILES), FABIUS ANNOUNCED THAT QUILES HAD INFORMED HIM OF THE FIRST CONCLUSIONS OF THE INQUEST THE LATTER IS HOLDING ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR. FABIUS WANTED TO LET THE NATION KNOW THE RESULTS IMMEDIATELY FOR THEY ALLOWED THE TRUTH TO BE DISCERNED: "IT WAS AGENTS OF THE DGSE WHO SANK THE SHIP. THEY ACTED ON INSTRUCTIONS. THIS TRUTH WAS HIDDEN FROM THE CONSEILLER D'ETAT, TRICOT".

3. FABIUS WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE HAD INFORMED THE PRESIDENT OF THESE GRAVE FACTS. THEY HAD DECIDED ON THE FOLLOWING IMMEDIATE MEASURES:

(A) A NEW HEAD OF THE DGSE WOULD BE NOMINATED AT THE NEXT COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MEETING (25 SEPTEMBER). HIS MAIN PRIORITY WOULD BE TO REORGANISE THE WHOLE OF THE SERVICE.

(B) THE GOVERNMENT FAVOURED THE SETTING UP OF A PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

THOSE WHO HAD SIMPLY CARRIED OUT THE ACT SHOULD NOT BE ACCUSED BECAUSE IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO EXPOSE MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES WHO HAD MERELY FOLLOWED THEIR ORDERS AND WHO HAD SOMETIMES IN THE PAST CARRIED OUT VERY DANGEROUS MISSIONS FOR THE COUNTRY.

4. FABIUS CLOSED BY SAYING THAT THE TRUTH IN THIS MATTER WAS CRUEL, BUT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY AND TOTALLY ESTABLISHED (TO WHICH HE HAD ALREADY COMMITTED HIMSELF).

5. COMMENT FOLLOWS.

TP2 175/1

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 22

24 SEP

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Shank for
Addy Hiter

Ba.

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FM PCO
TO IMMEDIATE PARIS
TELNO 494
OF 181420Z SEPT 85

✓ TM

106

YOUR TELNO 758: GREENPEACE

1. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION AT TODAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, PCO SPOKESMAN DESCRIBED ARTICLE IN FRANCE-SOIR AS QUOTE RUBBISH UNQUOTE AND QUOTE BUNKUM UNQUOTE.
2. FOR YOUR INFORMATION WE HAVE IT ON GOOD AUTHORITY THAT THERE IS NO REPEAT NO TRUTH IN THE STORY ABOUT THE BRITISH FROGMEN AT BREST.

HOWE

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FM PARIS

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 758 OF 171746Z SEPTEMBER 85

TOP COPY 121 AS 1
RECEIVED IN BISTRY MA 57

MIPT: GREENPEACE. (108)

7.10.85 RM

SUMMARY.

1. A REVIVED VERSION OF THE BRITISH CONNECTION APPEARS IN TODAY'S FRANCE-SOIR. IT MAY HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO PRE-EMPT THE LE MONDE STORY REPORTED IN MIPT, BUT SEEMS ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE BURIED BY IT.

DETAIL.

2. AN ARTICLE IN TODAY'S FRANCE-SOIR (POPULAR, RIGHT-WING) REFERS IN THE HEADLINE TO LONGSTANDING RIVALRY BETWEEN M16 AND THE DGSE AND STATES THAT IN JULY 1984 TWO ENGLISH DIVERS DISAPPEARED AT BREST. THE ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT INFORMATION CLASSIFIED TOP SECRET FOR MORE THAN A YEAR DOUBTLESS EXPLAINS MANY THINGS IN THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR BY SHOWING THE EXTENT OF THE TENSION BETWEEN FRENCH AND BRITISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. IT STATES THAT 'IN JULY 1984 TWO MILITARY FROGMEN, M16 OFFICERS, DIED IN OUR TERRITORIAL WATERS WHILE THEY WERE DIVING SECRETLY IN THE IMMEDIATE PROXIMITY OF L'ILE LONGUE, THE ULTRA-SECRET SUBMARINE BASE NEAR BREST.' AT A LATER POINT IN THE ARTICLE, AFTER HAVING EVOKED THE ALLEGED BRITISH IRRITATION WITH FRANCE OVER THE SALE OF EXOCETS TO ARGENTINA, THE VINCENNES IRISH AFFAIR, THE BOMB EPISODE DURING MITTERRAND'S STATE VISIT LAST YEAR AND THE ALLEGED BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH ASSISTANT MILITARY ATTACHE IN NEW DELHI, THE ARTICLE STATES 'IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT (SIC) THAT THE DEATH OCCURRED OF THE TWO MILITARY FROGMEN AT L'ILE LONGUE, WHILST SIX MONTHS EARLIER AN ENGLISH ENGINEER WAS FOUND MURDERED CLOSE TO THE PERIMETER OF THE BASE. OFFICIALLY HE HAD BEEN SPENDING TWO DAYS IN PARIS....'

3. THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT WHILST FRENCH INTELLIGENCE SERVICES HAD INDEED SET UP A SURVEILLANCE OPERATION ON GREENPEACE, THERE HAD NEVER BEEN ANY QUESTION OF BLOWING UP THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IN AUCKLAND HARBOUR AND STATES THAT 'SOMEONE' DID, CAUSING FRANCE TO LOSE ALL POSSIBILITY OF MANOEUVRE IN THE PACIFIC, TO COME CLOSE TO A WATERGATE AND EXPOSING SIX FRENCH INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS.

COMMENT.

4. THE REFERENCE NOTED ABOVE TO THE BRITISH ENGINEER FOUND MURDERED NEAR BREST AT THE END OF 1983 IS PRESUMABLY TO CAMPBELL WHOSE DEATH, LIKE THAT OF GRAHAM, ANOTHER BRITISH BUSINESSMAN WHO DIED IN MYSTERIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE SAME TIME IN PARIS HAS NEVER BEEN SATISFACTORILY EXPLAINED (ALTHOUGH THE PAPER IS ENTIRELY WRONG TO SAY, AS IF IT WAS THE ACCEPTED VERSION, THAT HE HAD BEEN MURDERED). AS FOR THE STORY OF THE FROGMEN, THIS IS THE FIRST REFERENCE TO IT WE HAVE SEEN.

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5. WE ARE TAKING THE LINE ON THE RECORD THAT WE HAVE NO COMMENT ON THESE UNSUBSTANTIATED AND IMPROBABLE STORIES. UNATTRIBUTABLY, WE ARE SAYING THAT THIS LOOKS LIKE A FURTHER PIECE OF DISINFORMATION BY THE DGSE, DREDGED FROM THE REALMS OF FANTASY.

6. THIS STORY DOES INDEED LOOK SUSPICIOUSLY LIKE A LAST-DITCH EFFORT TO PRE-EMPT THE STORY IN LE MONDE REPORTED IN MIPT. IF SO, IT SEEMS ALMOST CERTAIN TO BE BURIED BY IT, GIVEN LE MONDE'S FAR GREATER WEIGHT AND INFLUENCE, AND THE FACT THAT MOST FRENCH JOURNALISTS SEEM HIGHLY SCEPTICAL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROTESTATIONS OF INNOCENCE.

FRETWELL

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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FM PARIS

TO DESKBY 171800Z FCO

TELNO 757

OF 171717Z SEPTEMBER 85.

RECEIVED IN B. DISTRICT No. 57

18 SEP 1985

DESK BY 171800Z

171800Z

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104

MY TELNO 749 (NOT TO ALL): GREENPEACE.

SUMMARY.

1. LE MONDE HAS RELAUNCHED THE RAINBOW WARRIOR STORY WITH A FRONT PAGE LEADING ARTICLE WHICH ATTRIBUTES THE SINKING TO A THIRD TEAM OF FRENCH MILITARY COMBAT DIVERS.

DETAIL.

2. LE MONDE THIS AFTERNOON CARRIES AS ITS LEAD STORY A NEW AND MORE DETAILED VERSION OF WHO SANK THE RAINBOW WARRIOR. THE CRUX IS THAT IT WAS NEITHER THE SO-CALLED TURENGE COUPLE, NOR THE CREW OF THE OUEVA, BUT A THIRD DGSE TEAM OF COMBAT DIVERS WORKING IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE FIRST TWO. (THERE HAS BEEN A PREVIOUS REFERENCE IN THE FRENCH PRESS TO A POSSIBLE THIRD TEAM, BUT IT APPEARED HIGHLY SPECULATIVE AND ATTRACTED LITTLE ATTENTION).

3. ACCORDING TO LE MONDE, THIS TEAM WAS COORDINATED BY THE SHADOWNY FIGURE WHO HAS ALREADY SURFACED IN EARLIER PRESS STORIES, CALLED PHILIPPE DUBASTE - A PSEUDONYM FOR COMMANDANT LOUIS-PIERRE DILLAIS, HEAD OF THE DGSE DIVING BASE AT ASPRETTO IN CORSICA. THE TWO DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR LEFT AUCKLAND BY PLANE, UNNOTICED, ONE FOR NOUMEA, AND THE OTHER FOR SYDNEY. THE TURENGE COUPLE WERE INTENDED TO SERVE AS A LURE FOR THE NEW ZEALANDERS, AND TO DELIVER THE MATERIAL BROUGHT BY THE OUEVA TO THE AUTHORS OF THE EXPLOSION. THE ACTION TEAM MIGHT HAVE COME FROM THE ASPRETTO BASE (SUBORDINATE TO THE ARMY) OR FROM LORIENT (WHERE NAVAL FROGMEN ARE TRAINED), ALTHOUGH THE FORMER IS MORE TRADITIONALLY LINKED TO THE DGSE.

4. AS TO WHO GAVE THE ORDERS, LE MONDE JUDGES THAT THEY COULD ONLY HAVE COME FROM A VERY HIGH LEVEL. THE OFFICERS AND NCOS IN THE 3 TEAMS WOULD HAVE ONLY ACTED ON INSTRUCTIONS. THEIR HIERARCHICAL CHIEF, COL JEAN-CLAUDE LESQUER, HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ACTION DIVISION OF THE DGSE SINCE NOVEMBER 1984. LE MONDE DOES NOT BELIEVE HIM TO BE A MAN TO ACT ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE AND NOTES THAT HE WOULD BE UNDER THE DIRECT INSTRUCTIONS OF ADMIRAL PIERRE LACOSTE, HEAD OF THE DGSE. THE LATTER MIGHT RESPOND TO PRESSURES FROM ITS CLIENT, THE DIRECTION DES CENTRES NUCLEAIRES (DIRCEN), WHOSE DIRECTOR UNTIL JUNE 1985 WAS ADMIRAL HENRI FAGES. BUT LACOSTE HIMSELF IS HIGHLY DISCIPLINED AND WOULD NEVER ACT ALONE. LE MONDE SPECULATES THAT TWO VERY SENIOR OFFICERS HAD AUTHORISED AN OPERATION TO GIVE GREENPEACE A WARNING: LACAZE (THEN CDS) AND SAULNIER (THEN CHIEF OF STAFF AT

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THE ELYSEE), TOGETHER WITH HERNU (MINISTER OF DEFENCE). HOWEVER, LE MONDE BELIEVES THAT MITTERRAND HIMSELF WAS NOT INFORMED OF THESE FACTS BY HIS STAFF OR BY HERNU EITHER BEFORE OR IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE OPERATION.

5. LE MONDE COMMENTS THAT UP TILL NOW, THERE HAS ALWAYS SEEMED TO BE A PIECE MISSING IN THE GREENPEACE PUZZLE: THIS WAS BECAUSE THOSE REALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR SINKING THE RAINBOW WARRIOR HAD NOT BEEN IDENTIFIED, WHEREAS THE FIVE AGENTS WHO HAD BEEN IDENTIFIED WERE NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THIS WOULD EXPLAIN THE APPARENT CONFIDENCE OF THE DEFENDERS OF THE TURENGE COUPLE. THE LE MONDE ARTICLE, ALTHOUGH IT GOES INTO CONSIDERABLE DETAIL ABOUT THE MOVEMENTS OF THE TURENGE COUPLE AND THE CREW OF THE OUYEA, DOES NOT PRODUCE ANY CONCRETE PROOF OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE THIRD TEAM, BUT IT CLAIMS THAT THIS VERSION OF THE FACTS IS BASED ON INFORMATION GATHERED FROM A LARGE NUMBER OF RELIABLE SOURCES CLOSE TO THE FRENCH SECRET SERVICES.

MEMBERS OF MINISTERIAL CABINETS AND OTHER WITNESSES ON THE INSIDE TRACK. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT LE MONDE (WHICH IN GENERAL TENDS TO SUPPORT THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT) WOULD GIVE SUCH PROMINENCE TO THESE NEW REVELATIONS WITHOUT FEELING FAIRLY SURE OF ITS GROUND. IT STATES THAT THE EXISTENCE AND COMPOSITION OF THE THIRD TEAM IS AN OPEN SECRET IN THE FRENCH MILITARY AND POLICE CIRCLES WORKING ON THE AFFAIR.

6. THIS STORY HAS OVERTAKEN, AND SEEMS LIKELY TO BURY, A REVIVED VERSION OF THE BRITISH CONNECTION, CARRIED IN FRANCE SOIR (SEE MIFT).

FRETWELL

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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Law, p. 1.

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FM PARIS

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELNO 749

OF 161714Z SEPTEMBER 85

TPZ 175/1		
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO. 52		
18 SEP 1985		
INDEX	PA	REGISTRY
		Action taken

4 MY TELNO 744: PRESIDENT MITTERRAND'S VISIT TO MURUROA

SUMMARY.

1. FURTHER RAISING OF THE TEMPERATURE BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRALIA/NEW ZEALAND. PRESIDENT MITTERRAND IMPLIED THEY WERE ADVERSARIES OF FRANCE AND, AS EXPECTED, REAFFIRMED FRENCH DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE PACIFIC. IN DEFENDING THE TESTS, HE CHALLENGED AUSTRALIA TO LET FRENCH SCIENTISTS STUDY THE EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL MEASURES TAKEN AFTER BRITISH TESTS THERE IN THE 1950S.

DETAIL.

2. TECHNICAL HITCHES WITH CONCORDE AND THE FAILURE OF THE ARIANE LAUNCH (AFTER 9 CONSECUTIVE SUCCESSES) TARNISHED THE MESSAGE OF FRENCH TECHNOLOGICAL EXCELLENCE WHICH MITTERRAND HAD HOPED TO CONVEY DURING HIS VISIT TO THE KOUROU SPACE CENTRE AND MURUROA. BUT THEY DID NOT PREVENT HIM FROM PUTTING ACROSS THE POLITICAL MESSAGE OF HIS TRIP. AS HE SAID YESTERDAY IN A SHORT TELEVISED STATEMENT ON HIS RETURN (FULL TEXT BY BAG):-

"FRANCE, AS A PACIFIC POWER, INTENDS TO DECIDE INDEPENDENTLY ON MATTERS WHICH CONCERN ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS THERE....IT WILL ACCORDINGLY CONTINUE AS LONG AS IT JUDGES NECESSARY....THE TESTS NEEDED FOR ITS DEFENCE."

3. THIS MESSAGE WAS PRESENTED WITH A BLEND OF CONCILIATION AND CHALLENGE. ON THE ONE HAND, MITTERRAND SAID THAT WITHIN A MONTH, FRANCE WOULD WORK OUT PROPOSALS FOR COOPERATIVE SCIENTIFIC PROGRAMMES BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC AND FRENCH EXPERTS THERE, BOTH CIVIL AND MILITARY. FRANCE WOULD ALSO SET UP A CENTRE FOR HIGHER FRANCOPHONE STUDIES TO ENLARGE ITS CULTURAL PRESENCE. MITTERRAND FIRMLY CONDEMNED THE RAINBOW WARRIOR INCIDENT AS "CRIMINAL AND ABSURD", BUT ADDED THAT THOSE DETAINED IN NEW ZEALAND HAD BEEN THERE TO COLLECT INFORMATION WHICH WAS PERFECTLY LEGITIMATE IN A COUNTRY WHICH HARBOURED PEOPLE WHO THREATENED FRENCH POSITIONS. THE CHALLENGE CAME IN AN INVITATION TO SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM LEADERS TO VISIT MURUROA AND THE REQUEST TO AUSTRALIA TO ALLOW STUDIES BY FRENCH EXPERTS OF THE EFFECT OF BRITAIN'S TESTS THERE. ALTHOUGH MITTERRAND SAID ON HIS RETURN THAT FRANCE HAD NO ENEMIES IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, HE HAD SAID AT MURUROA THAT NO-ONE COULD GIVE ORDERS TO FRANCE CONCERNING ITS INTERESTS IN THE PACIFIC, "WITHOUT APPEARING AS AN ADVERSARY".

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4. IN AN INFORMAL PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER HIS RETURN, JOURNALISTS NOTED THAT MITTERRAND ONLY BECAME ANIMATED WHEN CRITICISING THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF LANGE. MME CRESSON (WHO WAS NOT AMONG THE SIX MINISTERS MITTERRAND TOOK WITH HIM) SAID ON THE RADIO THAT THE NEW ZEALANDERS WERE "OUR ADVERSARIES WHEN THEY WANT TO STOP OUR NUCLEAR TESTS; BUT THEY ARE NOT OUR ENEMIES BECAUSE WE ARE NOT AT WAR WITH THEM." ANOTHER SIGN OF THE DETERIORATING CLIMATE IS THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE VISIT TO PARIS OF THE NZ DEPUTY PM, ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR 3-8 OCTOBER. (THE NZ EMBASSY SAY THAT THIS IS AT FRENCH REQUEST; LANGE IS CURRENTLY TAKING THE LINE THAT THERE SHOULD BE TOP-LEVEL BILATERAL TALKS).

5. THERE IS NO OPINION POLL EVIDENCE YET ON THE DOMESTIC REPERCUSSIONS OF MITTERRAND'S VISIT, BUT MOST OBSERVERS EXPECT IT TO HAVE GONE DOWN WELL. THE OPPOSITION ARE INCREASINGLY PUTTING THE ACCENT ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MITTERRAND'S TOUGHNESS ON NUCLEAR TESTS AND THE GOVERNMENT'S NEW CALEDONIAN POLICY. AS THE CAMPAIGN GETS UNDER WAY FOR THE NEW CALEDONIA ELECTIONS ON 29 SEPTEMBER WITH VISITS BY CHIRAC, LEOTARD, TOUBON, LE PEN AND OTHERS, WE CAN EXPECT TO HEAR MUCH MORE OF THIS, BUT IT SEEMS UNLIKELY TO EFFACE THE POPULAR RESPONSE TO MITTERRAND'S ASSERTIVE DEFENCE OF FRENCH INTERESTS.

FRETWELL

REPEATED AS REQUESTED

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~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

WRF 261/2

26 SEP 1985

CP
26/a

~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 152100Z WELLINGTON

TELNO 178

OF 131500Z SEPTEMBER 85

YOUR TELNO 259: RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE AT 12.30 PM, 13 SEPTEMBER.

HOWE

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FM WELLINGTON

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 259

OF 130543Z SEPTEMBER 85

YOUR TELNO 175: RAINBOW WARRIOR

96

1. MY LETTER CONVEYING THE PRIME MINISTER'S MESSAGE TO MR LANGE WAS DELIVERED ON 11 SEPTEMBER. MR LANGE'S OFFICE TELL ME THAT HE REPLIED TO THE PRIME MINISTER YESTERDAY, 12 SEPTEMBER, THROUGH THE NEW ZEALAND HIGH COMMISSION IN LONDON AND THAT HE IS AGREEABLE TO THE PUBLIC RELEASE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S OFFER OF THE SERVICES OF A MINE CLEARANCE DIVING OFFICER.
2. IF YOU COULD LET ME KNOW WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT WILL BE MADE THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES WOULD BE GRATEFUL.

FAWCETT

FP2 175/1

RECORDED IN REGISTRY No. 52

13 SEP 1985

RECEIVED BY FCO

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RF 261/2

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Enter +

13 SEP 1985

From the Secretary of State

12 September 1985

CP 13K
J. M. Wilkinson

(48)

Thank you for your letter of 28 August about the sinking of the British Greenpeace ship the "Rainbow Warrior" in Auckland Harbour on 10 July. I agree with you that this was a lamentable event. The Government deeply regret the death of your colleague and share your concern that the culprits should be identified and brought to justice. As you know, the New Zealand authorities have arrested two people in connection with the sinking and have issued warrants for the arrest of three others.

The British Government have every confidence in the ability of the New Zealand authorities to conduct a full and fair enquiry. But we are anxious to assist them in any way we can. The Prime Minister has agreed to a request from Mr Lange that we should provide a British expert in underwater explosions to assist in the investigations in New Zealand.

You ask the British Government to institute a separate enquiry in the UK. The decision on whether to hold a shipping enquiry is a matter for the Secretary of State for Transport. The New Zealand Maritime Department have initiated their own preliminary enquiry under their Shipping and Seamen Act, and have promised to send us a copy of the report. Mr Ridley will I know wish to consider the position in the light of this report.


/As regards

Peter Wilkinson Esq



As regards possible legal proceedings, no obligation is laid on the Government under the Merchant Shipping Acts to initiate them. In this case, it seems to us at this stage that there is no need for separate proceedings here, in view of the legal proceedings already under way in New Zealand.

In short we take a serious view of this act of violence;
and we are giving practical help to the New Zealand authorities to bring those responsible to justice.


Geoffrey Howe

GEOFFREY HOWE

GREENPEACE

36 Graham Street, London N1 8LL
Tel: 01-608 1461. Telex: 25245

(48)
See reply 5e
+ p
A21

The Rt. Hon. Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC, MP,
Secretary of State for Foreign and
Commonwealth Affairs,
House of Commons,
London. SW1A 0AA

Ref: PW/SB

WRF 261/2

13 SEP 1985

28th August, 1985

Dear Sir Geoffrey,

CP
13/9

Re: Sinking of the Rainbow Warrior in Auckland, 10th July, 1985

Greenpeace notes with dismay and disappointment the apparent lack of interest which has been manifested by the Foreign Office over the lamentable affair concerning the bombing of our vessel in Auckland and the death of one of our colleagues during the attack.

As you are doubtless aware, the vessel itself was registered as a British ship and is consequently afforded such statutory protection as the law provides.

The New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange has naturally been in the forefront of condemnation over this issue as in his territorial waters the first ever act of international terrorism to befall New Zealand occurred. However, it must surely be in the interests of everyone to ensure that no effort is spared in attempting to identify the culprits of this outrage and we respectfully request that the Foreign Office make available all information currently at its disposal relating to this issue and institutes a separate enquiry in the UK.

We are certain that in pursuit of the Government's often-stated determination to combat international terrorism it will spare no effort in conducting such enquiries as it is legally and morally obliged to carry out.

We look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,



PETER WILKINSON
Director

Mr Chick, SED

for early dlt reply pte

+ Cms
Sec.

PS
✓
PS/Mr Rendon
Sir W Handing
Dr Wilson
Mr Jenkins



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

FP2 175/1		
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 52		
11 SEP 1985		
DESK OFFICER	REGISTRY	
INDEX	PA	Action Taken

10 September, 1985

L 10/10

I have given a copy
to Mr Leach, NZHC.

Telant 15/9

✓ Pl. copy to New Dept, WED
Sec (O) (C) + Defence Dept.

15/9

Dear Prime Minister,

I have been following closely developments over the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior and have, if I may say so, been impressed by the thoroughness of the New Zealand Police's investigations. I understand that your Government has sought the services of a mine clearance diving officer to help in these investigations. I am happy to agree to this request, and have asked our defence authorities to pursue the details with yours.

We would have no objection to our expert giving evidence in court on technical matters concerning explosives. The need to avoid any possible compromise to the operating techniques of our own forces means that the expert we provide will have no knowledge of the way in which our Special Forces would go about their business in war and he will not, therefore, be able to answer questions on this subject.

In view of the probability that our expert will be required to give evidence and that his presence will become public as a result, I propose that, if you see no objection, we should make public the fact that we had responded favourably to this request. Perhaps your people could confirm that you are content for us to do so.

I look forward to seeing you at the Commonwealth Heads
of Government Meeting in October.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

The Right Honourable David Lange, M.P.

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TOP COPY

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FM FCO

TO DESKBY 102100Z WELLINGTON

TELNO 175

OF 101145Z SEPTEMBER 85

FR2175/1	
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY/No. 52	
11 SEP 1985	
OFFICER	REGISTRY
DA	Adm. Taken

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OUR TELNO 470 TO PARIS: RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER TO MR LANGE
DATED 10 SEPTEMBER:-

'DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

'I HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING CLOSELY DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE
SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AND HAVE, IF I MAY SAY SO,
BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE THOROUGHNESS OF THE NEW ZEALAND POLICE'S
INVESTIGATIONS. I UNDERSTAND THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS SOUGHT
THE SERVICES OF A MINE CLEARANCE DIVING OFFICER TO HELP IN
THESE INVESTIGATIONS. I AM HAPPY TO AGREE TO THIS REQUEST, AND
HAVE ASKED OUR DEFENCE AUTHORITIES TO PURSUE THE DETAILS WITH
YOURS.

'WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO OUR EXPERT GIVING EVIDENCE
IN COURT ON TECHNICAL MATTERS CONCERNING EXPLOSIVES. THE NEED
TO AVOID ANY POSSIBLE COMPROMISE TO THE OPERATING TECHNIQUES
OF OUR OWN FORCES MEANS THAT THE EXPERT WE PROVIDE WILL HAVE NO
KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAY IN WHICH OUR SPECIAL FORCES WOULD GO ABOUT
THEIR BUSINESS IN WAR AND HE WILL NOT THEREFORE BE ABLE TO
ANSWER QUESTIONS ON THIS SUBJECT.

'IN VIEW OF THE PROBABILITY THAT OUR EXPERT WILL BE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REQUIRED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

REQUIRED TO GIVE EVIDENCE AND THAT HIS PRESENCE WILL BECOME PUBLIC AS A RESULT, I PROPOSE THAT, IF YOU SEE NO OBJECTION, WE SHOULD MAKE PUBLIC THE FACT THAT WE HAD RESPONDED FAVOURABLY TO THIS REQUEST. PERHAPS YOUR PEOPLE COULD CONFIRM THAT YOU ARE CONTENT FOR US TO DO SO.

'I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AT THE COMMONWEALTH HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN OCTOBER.

WITH BEST WISHES, YOURS SINCERELY, MARGARET THATCHER.'

2. ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY BAG.
3. PLEASE PASS TEXT TO PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE AND SEEK AGREEMENT TO PUBLISH AS PROPOSED IN LETTER.

HOWE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WRF 261/2

RE:

7 OCT 1985

FROM: C A Munro

Western in Department

DATE: 6 September 1985

cc: Sir W Harding

Dr Wilson

Mr Barrington

Mr Williams, PUSD

Mr Chick, SPD

Mr Alston, Defence Dept

Mr Roberts, News Dept

Mr Abbott, Consular Dept

7/10

Return to

WED

Adrian Baker

Private Secretary

Mr Jenkins

Q 13/9

THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR

PROBLEM

- A 1. In the light of developments since 4 September the Private Secretary agreed that I should submit before the weekend:
- i) a situation report;
 - B ii) a draft reply to the Greenpeace letter of 28 August;
 - iii) the draft reply prepared by Department of Transport officials
 - C to Mr Prescott's (Opposition spokesman) letter (also of 28 August) to Mr Ridley.

RECOMMENDATION

- D 2. I recommend that when the Prime Minister has replied to Mr Lange's request for a British underwater explosives expert, the Secretary of State should reply to Greenpeace in terms of the attached draft. I recommend that I should reply to Mr Knighton (Deputy Secretary at the Department of Transport) in terms of the second attached draft. Alternatively, the Private Secretary could discuss how to tone down Mr Ridley's reply to Mr Prescott with his Private Secretary. SPD, Consular Department and the Department of Transport agree.

This letter has a gone No 10. Below

BACKGROUND AND ARGUMENT

G I also attach the text of the Secretary of
 H State's message to M. Dumas, the record of Mr Jenkins' conversation
 on 5 September with the French Ambassador, and the Secretary of
 State's letter of 3 September to Mr Foulkes.

Reply to Greenpeace

4. The bull point is the provision of an underwater explosions expert to assist the New Zealand authorities. By publicising this decision we can deal with Greenpeace complaints that the UK is not interested, is not conducting an enquiry, and has not made available information at its disposal. I suggest therefore that a text approved by the Secretary of State could issue in his absence next week when the Prime Minister has replied to Mr Lange.

Mr Ridley's Reply to Mr Prescott

C 5. I have explained to the Department of Transport that I would submit Mr Knighton's draft. It is precisely the letter which Mr Ridley commissioned at his meeting (which I attended) on 5 September. But I do not think Anglo-French relations would be best served by the second and third sentences. The last sentence goes too far at this stage. An alternative is in the draft to Mr Knighton.

Colin A. Munro
 C A Munro

I concur in the drafts. I think we should try to keep the rhetoric under control, as we have in the message to M. Dumas, while making clear our concern and the action we are taking.

Michael Jenkins
 6/1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc. Mr. Munro WED SPP
✓ FM Mr. Woolley Sec (oc) Ho
Mr. Bell Revenue



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

(94)

London SW1A 2AH

c. Lark b. Mr. Pl.

6 September 1985

FP2 175/1	
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 52	
11 SEP 1985	
Mr. Munro	Mr. Woolley
Mr. Bell	Mr. Lark

Dear Charles,

Mr. Taylor

29/9.

Request by New Zealand for provision of a Diving Officer to assist in investigating the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel "Rainbow Warrior"

The New Zealand High Commission have transmitted to us an official request from their government for a mine clearance diving officer to assist in investigations into the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel, the "Rainbow Warrior". He would be required to travel to New Zealand to inspect the damage to the vessel in order to establish the type of explosive used, and the method and expertise used in doing so. The New Zealand Government would meet all costs. The officer would also need to be in a position to give expert evidence at later Court hearings.

The Foreign Secretary considers that we should agree to this request and suggests that the Prime Minister should write to Mr Lange informing him of this. The Prime Minister said in the House on 11 July that if the New Zealand authorities asked for help in their investigations we would consider giving it. As the Prime Minister said on 11 July, this is a matter for the New Zealand police, since the incident occurred in New Zealand waters; and there is no statutory requirement for HMG to mount an investigation. But the ship is British-registered and owned. We do therefore have an interest in the matter and it would, indeed, be open to us to conduct an enquiry if we were not satisfied with the local investigations.

The Ministry of Defence, who have already been approached informally by the New Zealanders, tell us that they would be able to provide an officer with the necessary expertise. To guard against the risk that an officer with operational experience might be drawn further than we would wish in giving evidence in the witness box, an expert with no operational knowledge of procedures would be selected.

To agree to the New Zealand request would be in keeping with the close ties and tradition of cooperation between our armed forces, in a context where we would not be inhibited by our current need to avoid undermining the "sanctions" imposed

/by

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

9k



by the Americans as a result of the ships visit episode. A helpful reply would also be a fitting gesture in response to Mr Lange's robust dismissal as "mischievous" and "absurd" of suggestions in the French press that the British Secret Service was involved in the sinking. Finally, compliance with the New Zealand request would also provide an opportunity for a message of support to Mr Lange, which our Post in Wellington has said would be well received by the New Zealand Government. We thought that the Prime Minister would wish to have the chance to consider conveying a favourable decision in a personal message to Mr Lange.- I enclose a draft.

There is also the question of publicity for our decision. Particularly since the publication of the Tricot report in France, there have been calls from MPs of all parties for HMG to take some action. These have included a call by Mr George Foulkes MP for an enquiry into allegations of British Intelligence involvement in the sinking of the ship, a demand by Mr Teddy Taylor MP for a statement pressing the French Government for an apology to New Zealand and greater cooperation with them in their investigations and a similar demand by Mr David Steep MP. Greenpeace have also written to Sir Geoffrey Howe requesting a separate UK inquiry.

Sir Geoffrey considers that in order to counter this pressure we should be ready to reveal publicly that we have met the New Zealand Government's request for an expert, soon after Mr Lange has received the Prime Minister's message. It would in any case be likely to leak quickly in New Zealand. If the Prime Minister agrees, this point could be included in Sir Geoffrey's reply to Greenpeace, which will issue next week.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (MOD).

Yr ever,

(P F Ricketts)
Private Secretary

Peter Ricketts

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

pa (43)
TAS
6/9

UNCLASSIFIED

WRF 261/2

12/1/85

UNCLASSIFIED

CP 12/1

FM PCO

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 052100Z WELLINGTON (FOR PS/MR STANLEY)

TELNO 169

OF 051330Z SEPTEMBER 85

MISS TAYLOR'S TELELETTER OF 4 SEPTEMBER

1. AGREEMENT HAS NOW BEEN OBTAINED TO QUOTE, ATTRIBUTABLY, FROM THE TEXT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY TO MR FOULKES.
2. AT TODAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN SAID THAT NO DEAL HAD BEEN STRUCK BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER DURING THEIR MEETING ON 27 AUGUST (AS CLAIMED IN THE FRENCH PRESS (PARIS TELNO 722)) AND THAT ON THAT OCCASION SIR GEOFFREY HOWE HAD ASSURED MR DUMAS THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO BRITISH INTELLIGENCE INVOLVEMENT IN THE SINKING OF RAINBOW WARRIOR. THIS MAY BE DRAWN ON FREELY. IF ASKED WHAT MR DUMAS SAID AT THE 27 AUGUST MEETING, THE REPLY SHOULD BE THAT THIS IS FOR THE FRENCH TO SAY.

HOWE

~~SECRET~~

have seen *29* *TA8* *61*
TA8 *5/9*

Mr Munro, W51

FROM: C A Munro
Western European Department

*Thank you. Msg to
Dumas needed on 5/9. PLE*

Private Secretary

DATE: 4 September 1985

cc: Sir W Harding
Mr Jenkins
Dr Wilson
Mr Chick, SPD
Mr Roberts, News Dept
PUSD
Defence Dept

*should we
put a person
into the
message to
Dumas hoping
that the team*

THE RAINBOW WARRIOR

- A 1. Please refer to your minute of today's date. You subsequently asked me to prepare a note for the Secretary of State's meeting with the Prime Minister this afternoon.

*police
will
indeed*

Background

*extended full
cooperation to
NZ?*

2. The Rainbow Warrior, a British ship, was sunk by explosives in Auckland Harbour on 10 July. A (Belgian) crew member was killed. The New Zealand authorities have charged five (French) people with murder. The evidence suggests that the French External Intelligence Service (DGSE) was almost certainly responsible. The orders may have been approved by the Defence Minister M. Hernu (responsible for the DGSE) but we do not believe that President Mitterrand had advance knowledge of the operation. M. Tricot (former Gaullist Secretary-General at the Elysee tasked with enquiring into the affair) concludes that on the basis of the information available to him the French Government did not order or intend the act of sabotage and that no DGSE agent in New Zealand at the time was responsible. He also notes that the evidence against the crew of the yacht Ouvea is not negligible. Tricot admits that his report is an incomplete account and Prime Minister Fabius has indicated that France will not obstruct the course of justice.

WRE 26/10

- 5 SEP 1985

3./

5/9

B

3. I attach the Secretary of State's letter to Mr Foulkes.
Points for discussion with the Prime Minister

4. The French have blown up a British ship. What should be our public posture. Parliament and the media are calling for the government to

- i) denounce terrorism;
- ii) hold an enquiry under the Merchant Shipping Acts into the loss of a British ship;
- iii) ~~refute the allegations which persist in France that~~ British intelligence services were involved;
- iv) (from Mr Lange) send an underwater explosives expert to New Zealand.

5. Denounce terrorism. We should do this in replying to Greenpeace and explain our reasons in the message I intend to send to M. Dumas.

Hold our own enquiry. I see no need at this stage. We should await the results of the New Zealand investigation.

Refute French allegations of British Intelligence involvement. We should stick to our practice of no comment but draw attention to Lange's helpful remarks dismissing them as a mischievous diversion and absurd.

Mr Lange's request for an underwater explosives expert. Mr Heseltine has some doubts. But I believe we should agree and that the fact of our agreement should be made public. In replying we should also convey our sympathy to New Zealand.

Anglo/

Anglo/French Relations

6. These will require sensitive handling. I saw Dumas informally last month. He disowned French stories of British intelligence involvement but French press continue to carry them and have even suggested (in today's Liberation, and carried in the radio here) that Dumas and I struck a deal whereby France would call off the rumour mongers and we would hold no enquiry. I propose to send a message to Dumas assuring him that we have no desire to embarrass France but we cannot avoid denouncing an act of terrorism and have only managed to contain the situation so far because Parliament has been on holiday.

Colin A. Munro
C A Munro

~~RESTRICTED~~

~~RESTRICTED~~

FM PARIS
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 722
OF 041645Z SEPTEMBER 85

WLF 261/2

S 852 735

MY SAVING TELNO 36 AND TELECON FRY/MUNRO: GREENPEACE

SUMMARY

1. A FRENCH NEWSPAPER CLAIMS THAT ON 27 AUGUST DUMAS OFFERED YOU AN INFORMAL ORAL APOLOGY ABOUT THE RUMOURS OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT AND THAT IN RETURN YOU TACITLY AGREED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO BRITISH ENQUIRY INTO THE RAINBOW WARRIOR SINKING. MEANWHILE, LEGAL ARGUMENTS BETWEEN FRANCE AND NEW ZEALAND CONTINUE.

DETAIL

2. THE STORY ABOUT DUMAS' APOLOGY IS PART OF A LIBERATION ARTICLE, DATED LONDON, QUOTING A DIPLOMATIC SOURCE. THE QUAI THIS AFTERNOON CATEGORICALLY DENIED THAT DUMAS HAD APOLOGISED AND SAID THAT THE 27 AUGUST MEETING WAS DEVOTED TO EUROPEAN ISSUES. LE MONDE SPECULATES THAT THE STORY MIGHT DERIVE FROM A BRITISH SOURCE TRYING TO COUNTER ALLEGATIONS OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR.

3. MEANWHILE, MEDIA INTEREST IN THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR GENERALLY IS SCARCELY ABATED. THE MAIN FRESH INGREDIENT IS THAT THE OWNER OF THE MISSING YACHT OUYEA HAS AGREED TO SETTLE OUT OF COURT HIS CLAIM FOR CHARGES AGAINST THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES. THE EFFECT IS THAT THE CASE WILL NOT NOW COME BEFORE A NEW CALEDONIAN MAGISTRATE AND THE FRENCH JUDICIARY IS NO LONGER OFFICIALLY SEIZED OF ANY CASE INVOLVING THE CREW MEMBERS. PRIME MINISTER LANGE IS QUOTED BY AFP AS SAYING THAT NZ WILL NOT PROVIDE THE SLIGHTEST DETAILS OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THE 5 (SIC) FRENCH AGENTS INVOLVED UNLESS NZ RECEIVES AN ASSURANCE THAT THE THREE CREW MEMBERS OF THE OUYEA WILL EITHER BE HANDED OVER TO NZ OR ELSE BE JUDGED IN FRANCE.

COMMENT

4. ON 27 AUGUST FABRIS STATED THAT 'WE WANT THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES TO ARRIVE AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AT THE TRUTH ... THE GUILTY, WHOEVER THEY ARE, MUST ANSWER FOR THEIR CRIME'. THIS CONTRASTS WITH THE SYSTEMATIC EFFORTS TO KEEP THE KEY WITNESSES AWAY FROM NZ INVESTIGATORS AND FROM ANY FORM OF JUDICIAL ENQUIRY. THE PRESS HAS NOT PICKED THIS UP, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF THE ALMOST UNIVERSAL ASSUMPTION THAT THE NATURAL AND PROPER ROLE OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS TO PROTECT ALL THE AGENTS INVOLVED AND ON NO ACCOUNT TO BRING THE FACTS INTO THE OPEN OR FACILITATE A PROSECUTION.

FRETWELL

~~RESTRICTED~~

per TAS S/9 (31)

SAVING TELEGRAM

~~RESTRICTED~~

FROM PARIS SAVING TELNO 35 OF 3 SEPTEMBER 1985

TO FCO

WRF 26/1/85
- 5 SEP 1985

PARIS TELNO 708 : GREENPEACE

SUMMARY

1. The subject is still attracting a great deal of attention in the media; and stories of British involvement are far from dead. Resentment is emerging against New Zealand (and by extension her «Anglo-Saxon» friends).

DETAIL

2. The press continues to advance possible scenarios, based partly on fact and partly on suppositions. The purchase of a Zodiac inflatable in London by one or more DGSE agents is generally treated as fact; and Le Monde (4 Sept) signals on the front page a long report on this, building on the article in last Sunday's Observer and its own investigations. Le Monde explains why the Zodiac was not purchased in France or in the Pacific by saying that it was always meant to be left behind after the operation to mislead the NZ police. Le Monde sees all this as further reason to suppose that the British secret services got wind of the operation and tipped off the New Zealanders.- a theory now widely accepted here. Denials of any British involvement, whether from British or New Zealand sources have been largely ignored. Even the extreme version - that British secret services actually sank the Rainbow Warrior - is far from dead. Figaro today also finds a former Junior Minister (Achille-Fould) to speculate on exploitation of a DGSE operation by New Zealand, /and «un certain monde anglo-saxon».

/Aus-
tralia

3. That these press stories have had their effect; is suggested by the first post-Tricot opinion polls. 22% of those polled believed a foreign secret service sank the Rainbow Warrior, compared with 29% who saw the DGSE as responsible, and 40% who did not know. 62% however are not convinced by Tricot's report. The slightly surprising answer is on the desirability of continuing nuclear tests in the Pacific: in spite of the political consensus on this only 56% were in favour, with 38% against.

4. Fresh revelations now seem most likely to come from New Zealand. Not surprisingly, the New Zealand policemen here are receiving only the cooperation which the French are required by Interpol rules to provide, and no more. They have not, for

/example

~~RESTRICTED~~

example, been able to meet the Ouvea crew, who have not been charged here with any offence. Unless and until a French judicial enquiry is started against them, the New Zealanders' international warrants are without practical effect: but to hand over to the French police the evidence they hold would certainly be a tactical mistake in the delicate game of poker between the two governments. (The sole French interest would be to find weaknesses and loopholes in order to discredit the evidence, not to act on it.)

5. There is widespread resentment towards New Zealand itself (and by extension, Australia and other «Anglo-Saxons»). It is generally assumed that New Zealand wants to kick France out of the Pacific and that its opposition to French nuclear testing is motivated not by environmental worries (usually dismissed as groundless) but by a desire to deprive France of its independent deterrent. New Zealand has thus stirred up the Pacific islanders against France, and aided and abetted France's enemy Greenpeace. An interview in Le Monde of 3 September with Lange will not have helped: he says that Mururoa is in «our zone of interest», and gives the impression that France's role in the Pacific should be reduced to economic aid and cultural links with independent francophone states. Such a (British) model would not be accepted by most socialists here, let alone the right wing Opposition. The French are puzzled by Lange's blowing hot and cold over the Rainbow Warrior affair, and try to explain it by subtle manoeuvre where there probably is none (eg Lange is said to want a deal on New Zealand butter in return for going easy on Greenpeace). Moreover, the French are put off by what they see as a 'holier than thou' tone in New Zealand pronouncements. This injured innocence emerges in today's Figaro headlines: 'Anti-French outburst' and 'The New Zealanders condemn France without appeal',

6. There could be some fall-out in our own bilateral relations - not so much on inter-governmental contacts as in terms of public attitudes. We need to be alive to this in how we handle any official British involvement e.g. arising from the fact that the Rainbow Warrior is registered in the UK. Illogical as it may be, the nationalist reflex is now working overtime; and both those who believe the DGSE agents to be more or less innocent and those who believe (or know) them to be guilty equally resent France being put in the dock. We are thought to have helped to catch the «Turenges». There could be an adverse reaction if we were thought to be helping to convict them.

FRETWELL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

See 30

3 September 1985

From the Secretary of State

WRF 261/2

5 SEP 1985

Dear George

1 8 6/9

Thank you for your letter of 27 August about the allegations in France that British Intelligence Services were involved in the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.

These allegations were first put about in the French media on the basis, it seems, of pure fantasy, or possibly, as you suggest, of disinformation. The radio station which gave them currency has since apologised to our Embassy in Paris.

Speculation about the possible involvement of British Intelligence revived when M. Bernard Tricot presented his official report to the French Prime Minister M. Fabius on 25 August. His method was to exclude no hypothesis, however improbable. His report however describes the possibility of involvement of foreign intelligence services as merely "supposition". It also makes clear that in the short time that he was given he was unable to assemble all the relevant facts or to arrive at any conclusion as to who was responsible for sinking the Rainbow Warrior.

As far as New Zealand is concerned, Mr Lange, as you will probably have seen, has rejected suggestions of British involvement as mischievous and absurd. This has also been the attitude of most responsible British newspapers.

/In view

George Foulkes Esq MP



In view of these reactions, and in particular since neither the French nor New Zealand authorities take the question of British involvement in the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior seriously, this is not a subject worthy of any form of official enquiry.

As you know it has been the policy of successive British Governments not to comment on matters concerning security and intelligence. I believe it is right to maintain this practice even, as in the present case, when the allegations are patently ridiculous.

Y —
Geoffrey Howe
—

GEOFFREY HOWE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 52
10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

DESK OFFICER

2 September 1985

INDEX

PA

Action Taken

Dear Colin,

PA 2/9 FM

WED
PUSD

SPD (79)

2 PS
B/M Renter
Sir W Harding
D Wilson
Mr Jenkins

The Sinking of the British Greenpeace Ship
Rainbow Warrior

75

2/9

You wrote to Mark Addison on 30 August with a report of developments over the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior.

The Prime Minister has commented that we should respond positively to Mr. Lange's request for an underwater explosives expert to assist in the New Zealand investigations. She recalls that she said in the House that we would provide help if asked.

I am copying this letter to Richard Mottram (Ministry of Defence) and Richard Allan (Department of Transport).

Yours sincerely

(Charles Powell)

Colin Budd, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(22)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

30 August 1985

WRF 261/0

- 5 SEP 1985

Dear Mark,

/ B 6/9

The Sinking of the British Greenpeace Ship Rainbow Warrior

Herewith the report I promised:

On 10 July the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior blew up and sank in Auckland Harbour. It had been due to lead a protest fleet to the French nuclear testing area at Mururoa Atoll. A photographer on board at the time, a Dutch national of Portuguese extraction, was killed.

The French Embassy in Wellington denied as early as 11 July that France was in any way responsible. The New Zealand authorities arrested a "Swiss" couple with passports in the name of "Turenge" and charged them with the murder of the photographer. The New Zealand authorities also announced that they were looking for the crew of the French yacht Ouvea which had visited Whangarea (north of Auckland) shortly before the sinking. The Ouvea, due back in New Caledonia on 28 July, disappeared after it had called at Norfolk Island, where it was searched by Australian and New Zealand police. The New Zealand authorities in due course established that the "Swiss" couple were in fact French citizens and members of the French External Intelligence Service (DGSE). The Swiss Government have protested to the French about the use of forged Swiss passports.

On 8 August, in face of mounting evidence of French involvement, President Mitterrand instructed Prime Minister Fabius to organise an enquiry. Fabius appointed M. Bernard Tricot, a Gaullist former Secretary General at the Elysee, to investigate and report. Meanwhile the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Lange, made clear his displeasure at French agents operating in New Zealand and said that New Zealand would "sue France" if it were confirmed that French agents had blown up the Rainbow Warrior.

On 25 August M. Tricot submitted his report, in the form

/of a

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



of a letter to Prime Minister Fabius. He said he believed, on the basis of the evidence available to him, that there was no official French responsibility for the sinking. He thus exonerated Ministers (in particular, M. Hernu, the Defence Minister, who is responsible for the DGSE) and senior officials. But his "belief" was not based on clear evidence. He has since admitted that his report is an incomplete account and suggested that a further enquiry may be necessary. Such evidence as Tricot was able to gather reveals:

- (i) a major French surveillance/spying operation against Greenpeace and the deployment of agents to New Zealand for this purpose: the agents included the "Turenge" couple and the crew of the Ouvea;
- (ii) that the agents included people with the technical expertise to place mines;
- (iii) awareness of possible British sensitivities;
- (iv) that the reasons for thinking that the crew of the Ouvea were responsible for the attack were "not negligible".

The Rainbow Warrior is a British ship built and registered in Aberdeen, managed by the UK company Greenpeace (Rainbow Warrior Holdings) Ltd, and owned by a company based in the Dependent Territory of the Cayman Islands.

Interest in the UK has so far centred on allegations, which first appeared in France, that British Intelligence was in some way involved. These have ranged from suggestions that British agents planted the mines to hints that British Intelligence tipped off the New Zealanders about the French surveillance operations. Mr Lange has described the suggestions as "a completely mischievous diversion" and stated that there is nothing to fear in New Zealand from British agents and that the suggestion that British agents blew up the Rainbow Warrior is "absolutely absurd".

We have pointed out privately to French officials the restraint with which the UK has treated misleading reports in the French media and suggested that they seek to put an end to any attempts at disinformation. The Charge d'Affaires in the Embassy in Paris has also written to the French National Radio protesting about their broadcasting these reports, and has received an apology. While refusing to be provoked into commenting further than necessary on matters affecting security and intelligence, we have left the British press in no doubt off the record that the reports of British involvement are unfounded.

/We have

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



- 3 -

We have taken the view that we can rely on the New Zealand authorities to uncover the facts and that there is no need for a separate British enquiry. Mr Lange has requested us to send an underwater explosives expert to assist in the New Zealand investigations. Sir Geoffrey Howe will be considering this over the weekend.

Greenpeace believe that the French sank their ship and have called on France to pay for the material damage and compensate the family of the photographer. Mr Lloyd Cuttler, a former adviser to President Carter, has been retained by Greenpeace for eventual legal proceedings. We have heard that they are sending a letter to the British Government seeking assistance.

I am copying this letter to Mr Ridley's and Mr Heseltine's Private Secretaries. It is going by telegram to Wellington for Mr Stanley, who arrives in New Zealand on 2 September.

*Yours Sincerely,
Colin Budd*

(C R Budd)
Private Secretary

Mark Addison Esq
10 Downing Street

FROM: D J M Dain
Western European Department

DATE: 30 August 1985

Mr Jenkins

cc: PS/PUS
Sir W Harding
Mr Goodall
Dr Wilson
Mr Barrington
Mr Chick, SPD
Mr Alston, Defence Dept
Mr Hall, Research Dept
Mr Hinchcliffe, Information Dept
Miss Neville-Jones, Planning Staff
Mr Short, PUSD
Mr Roberts, News Dept
Mr Gray, MAED
Mr Anderson, Legal Advisers

FP2 175/1		
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 52		
- 3 SEP 1985		
DESK OFFICER	REGISTRY	
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	✓	AS

ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS: THE SINKING OF THE BRITISH GREENPEACE SHIP "RAINBOW WARRIOR"

Problem

1. The Prime Minister has asked for a report. The Secretary of State will wish to read himself in over the weekend. Allegations that British Intelligence was involved persist in France. In the UK there is pressure from Members of Parliament and the media for a rebuttal and, to a lesser extent, for a British enquiry into the sinking.
2. I recommend that the Private Secretary should write to PS/No 10 in terms of the attached draft. This letter is a self-contained account of the problem and our management of it. I recommend that it should be copied to PS/Mr Ridley. The Department of Transport lead on the question of an enquiry under the Merchant Shipping Acts. I recommend that the text of the letter to No 10 should be telegraphed to Wellington for PS/Mr Stanley who arrives in New Zealand on 2 September. I recommend that the Secretary of State should reply to Mr Foulkes' letter of 27 August in terms of the attached draft and that (when Mr Foulkes' office have been informed) News Department should release the text to the press. PUSD, SPD, News Dept, MAED, Defence Department and Legal Advisers agree.

Mr Thompson

Background/

Background and Argument

3. The draft letter to No 10 summarises the facts available to British officials.

4. The pressure from MPs and the media for a rebuttal of the persistent allegations of British intelligence involvement (which the French have done nothing to contain and appear originally to have inspired) presents particular difficulty, both in terms of Anglo-French relations and of our invariable practice of refusing on-the-record comment on matters affecting security and intelligence. If we break our practice over Greenpeace, the next time we refuse comment the press will believe allegations of intelligence involvement. News Department have steered the press with unattributable briefing, and on 30 August commented on the record, with reference to Mr Lange's statement that allegations of British Intelligence involvement are a "mischievous diversion and absolutely absurd". We have pointed out privately to French officials the restraint with which the UK has treated misleading reports in the French media and suggested that they seek to put an end to any attempts at disinformation.

5. In this connection the public handling of the New Zealand request for an underwater explosives expert and our response will need to be carefully considered. SPD are submitting separately advising that the request be met. I would see advantage in the request and our response being made public.



D J M Dain

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
COVERING NEW ZEALAND ~~SECRET~~

Sir W Harding
PS

From: J Thompson, SPD

Date: 30 August 1985

cc : PS/Lady Young

Mr Dain, WED, W62

Mr Alston, Defence De
E307

PUSD, E209

News Dept, W18

SEC(0)(C), MOD

SCU, WH MZ 26

FPZ 175/1		
RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO. 52		
30 AUG 1985		
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REQUEST BY NEW ZEALAND FOR PROVISION OF A DIVING OFFICER TO ASSIST IN INVESTIGATING THE SINKING OF THE GREENPEACE VESSEL 'RAINBOW WARRIOR'

PROBLEM

1. A request from the New Zealand Government for the provision of a mine clearance diving officer to help investigate the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel 'Rainbow Warrior'.

RECOMMENDATION

/ 2. I recommend that we should comply. I attach a draft letter
/ to No 10, together with a draft letter from the Prime Minister to Mr Lange. WED, PUSD, News Department, Defence Department and Ministry of Defence agree.

BACKGROUND

A 3. The New Zealand High Commission have transmitted a request from the New Zealand Government for a mine clearance diving officer to assist in their investigations into the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel, the 'Rainbow Warrior', by travelling to New Zealand to inspect the damage to the vessel. The New Zealand Government would meet all costs. The officer would also need to be in a position to give expert evidence at later court hearings.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
COVERING NEW ZEALAND ~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
COVERING NEW ZEALAND-SECRET

B 4. The Prime Minister said in the House on 11 July that if the New Zealand authorities asked for help in their investigations, we would consider giving it. There is no statutory requirement for HMG to mount an investigation: it is open to us to do so if we are not satisfied with local investigations. In this case we are, as the Prime Minister said on 11 July, leaving this to the New Zealand authorities. However, since the ship is British registered and owned, HMG has an interest in the matter. The Ministry of Defence inform us that they would be able to provide an officer with the necessary expertise. To do so would be in keeping with the close ties and tradition of co-operation between us, in a context where we would not be inhibited by our current need to avoid undermining the "sanctions" imposed by the Americans as a result of the ship visit crisis in ANZUS. A helpful reply would also be a fitting gesture in response to Mr Lange's dismissal as "malicious fabrications" of suggestions which are continuing in the French press that the British Secret Service was involved in the sinking. Finally, compliance with the New Zealand request would also provide a suitable occasion for a message of support from the Prime Minister.

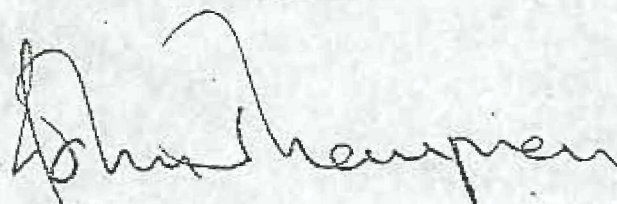
C DE 5. Particularly since the publication of the Tricot report, there have been calls from MPs of all parties for HMG to take action. The demands have ranged from an enquiry into allegations of British Intelligence involvement in the sinking (Mr George Foulkes MP (Labour)), to a statement pressing the French Government for an apology and greater co-operation with New Zealand (Mr Teddy Taylor MP (Conservative), and Mr David Steel MP (Liberal)). On the first demand, it has always been our policy not to comment on matters of intelligence or security, however far-fetched they may be. In any case the robust line taken by Mr Lange will reduce pressure for such an enquiry. The other

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~~COVERING NEW ZEALAND SECRET~~

two demands have been largely overtaken given the generally warm acceptance by Mr Lange of M. Fabius' statement on the Tricot report. There is, however, likely still to be a lingering belief that HMG should make a statement in support of New Zealand. Our High Commission in Wellington have recently reported, for the first time, a feeling in New Zealand that a UK statement is overdue.

6. Given that the French Government's report maintains that there was no official French involvement in the sinking, it is difficult to see how there could be objections from that quarter to the provision by us of our expert to assist a Commonwealth country establish the cause of the sinking of a British ship. Since the presence of a British expert will undoubtedly come out in due course there is much to commend making it known now so as to meet public and Parliamentary demands. This will require Mr Lange's agreement.



J Thompson
South Pacific Department

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~~COVERING NEW ZEALAND SECRET~~

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CONFIDENTIAL
FM PARIS
TO PRIORITY FCO
TELNO 739
OF 301115Z AUGUST 85

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(18)

YOUR TELNO 455: GREENPEACE

1. THE SITUATION IS NOT QUITE AS CLEAR CUT AS SUGGESTED IN PARA 1 OF YOUR TUR. THE PARIS CORRESPONDENT OF THE SUNDAY TIMES (BRIAN MOYNAHAN) IS STILL ON HOLIDAY IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE AND WE HAVE CONFIRMED WITH HIM PERSONALLY THAT HE HAS NOT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HIS NEWSPAPER. THE OTHER SUNDAY TIMES CORRESPONDENT USUALLY BASED HERE (JON SWAIN) IS ALSO AWAY. THE ACTUAL SOURCE WAS THE ST (AND EVENING STANDARD) STRINGER ANN-ELIZABETH MOUTET (A GOSSIP COLUMNIST AND GENERAL FEATURES WRITER), WHO IS NOT PARTICULARLY RELIABLE. WE HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HER TOO AND IT WOULD APPEAR THAT SHE WAS FAR LESS CATEGORICAL THAN THE SUNDAY TIMES CLAIMED. SHE HAS TOLD US THAT SHE HEARD FROM A FRENCH FRIEND (UN-NAMED) THAT THE ARTICLE BY GERARD DE VILLIERS IN THIS WEEK'S PARIS MATCH HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF AN UNATTRIBUTABLE BRIEFING FROM A RIGHT WING MEMBER OF THE DGSE (ALSO UN-NAMED). MOUTET KNEW OF NO OTHER EXAMPLES OF SUCH BRIEFING, BUT VOLUNTEERED A PERSONAL OPINION THAT 'IT MUST BE GOING ON'. THIS WEEK'S L'EXPRESS CARRIES NO SUCH STORY. THE TIMES CORRESPONDENT HERE (DIANA GEDDES) HAS TOLD US THAT NO FRENCH OFFICIAL SOURCES HAVE BEEN TRYING TO BEND HER EAR, AND THAT SHE WOULD EXPECT TO BE AWARE OF IT IF ANY SUCH ACTIVITY WERE GOING ON.

2. IT MAY WELL BE THAT ELEMENTS WITHIN THE DGSE ARE CARRYING OUT ANTI-BRITISH BRIEFING, DESPITE A RECENT CONFIDENTIAL ASSURANCE FROM LOCOSTE (HEAD OF DGSE) THAT THIS IS NOT SO (REPORTED TO LONDON LAST WEEK). THERE IS EVERY REASON FOR THEM TO GRASP AT THIS STRAW IN THE PRESENT PARLOUS STATE OF THE DGSE, PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING A PUBLIC STATEMENT BY THE FRENCH PRIME MINISTER THAT THEIR ORGANISATION IS GUILTY OF SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES. WITH SO MUCH CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE STILL POINTING DIRECTLY AT THEM, THE SO-CALLED BRITISH CONNECTION IS VIRTUALLY THEIR ONLY CONVENIENT WAY OF SEEKING TO DISTRACT ATTENTION AND THEY ARE HELPED IN THIS BY THE FACT THAT THE THEME IS ALSO FED ACTIVELY BY THE BRITISH PRESS.

3. ON PRESENT EVIDENCE I DOUBT IF THERE IS A SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPT BY FRENCH OFFICIAL SOURCES (OTHER THAN MEMBERS OF THE DGSE, PERHAPS ACTING ON A PERSONAL BASIS) TO SUGGEST BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR. IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR WHAT INTEREST THE ELYSEE, MATIGNON, THE QUAI OR THE FRENCH MOD WOULD HAVE IN THIS ANYWAY. AS FOR REMEDIAL ACTION THE DGSE THEMSELVES ARE PROBABLY BEYOND THE PALE. WE HAVE ALREADY MADE CLEAR TO THE ELYSEE DIPLOMATIC STAFF THAT THE STORY IS NONSENSE. WE SHALL ALSO TAKE THE OPPORTUNITY OF EARLY CONTACT WITH A SPECIALISED MEMBER OF THE ELYSEE

STAFF

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STAFF TO REFLECT THE UNEASE IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF YOUR TUR, AND ARE FAIRLY CONFIDENT THAT THIS WILL BE RELAYED TO THE POLITICAL LEVEL.

4. I STAND BY THE ADVICE IN PARA 2 OF MY TELNO 700. I GATHER THAT THE DGI, AIR MARSHAL ARMITAGE, HAS MADE SOME KIND OF PUBLIC REBUTTAL IN NEW ZEALAND. IS SO, GRATEFUL FOR TEXT.

WESTON

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FM WELLINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
DESKBY 300900Z
TELNO 237
OF 300402Z AUGUST 85

VNH

PARTS TELNO 708 TO FCO: GREENPEACE SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. I TOO SHOULD WELCOME AN OFFICIAL REBUTTAL OF THE BRITISH-CONNECTION STORIES BUT WOULD RECOMMEND AGAINST USING, EVEN UNATTRIBUTABLY, THE ADDITIONAL POINTS SUGGESTED BY HM EMBASSY PARIS AT THE END OF PARAGRAPH 5 OF THE TUR. IT IS THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING POLICIES, NOT THEIR SIMILARITIES, THAT WIN US CREDIT IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC. WE DO NOT TEST IN THIS REGION, AND MAY EVEN BE WILLING TO SIGN THE PROTOCOLS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE TREATY OF RAROTONGA. NOR WOULD I LIKE OUR DIFFERENCES WITH NEW ZEALAND OVER NUCLEAR SHIP VISITS TO BE HIGHLIGHTED AT A TIME WHEN THEY MAY BE ON THE POINT OF RESOLUTION.

2. MY REPORT OF MR LANGE'S REMARKS ON THE BRITISH CONNECTION (MY TELNO 229, PARA 2) WAS A PRECIS OF WHAT I REMEMBERED HAVING HEARD WHILST SHAVING, NOT HIS ACTUAL WORDS WHICH REACHED ME IN TRANSCRIPT LATER IN THE DAY, AND WHICH I HAVE SINCE COPIED TO YOU, PARIS AND MELBOURNE BY BAG. BUT IN VIEW OF THE PROPOSED OFFICIAL REBUTTAL I NOW TELEGRAPH MR LANGE'S FULL REMARKS:

Q THERE IS ANOTHER POINT I WOULD LIKE TO COVER BEFORE WE FINISH, MR LANGE. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED IN THE LAST FEW DAYS THAT BRITISH AGENTS COULD HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN THE BOMBING. I UNDERSTAND MR TRICOT IS QUOTED AS SAYING IT'S A POSSIBILITY THAT CAN'T BE RULED OUT.

MR LANGE: I THINK WE HAVE GOT TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT MR TRICOT. MR TRICOT IS NOW NOT RULING OUT ANYTHING.

/Q.

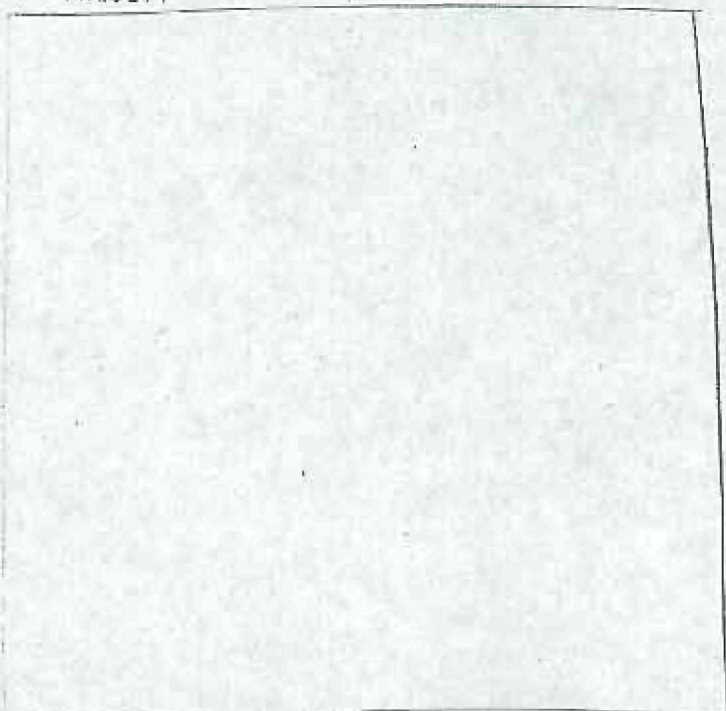
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Q. IN FACT THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY HAS CALLED FOR A PROBE INTO THOSE ALLEGATIONS. WHAT IS YOUR FEELING ON THOSE ALLEGATIONS?
MR LANGE: FROM ALL THAT I KNOW IT IS A COMPLETELY MISCHIEVOUS DIVERSION AND FROM OTHER SOURCES NOT TO DO WITH MY OFFICIAL INTELLIGENCE LINE I AM INFORMED THROUGH THE MEDIA THAT IN FACT THEY WERE CALCULATED TO MISLEAD BY USING MEDIA PLANTS IN FRENCH BROADCASTING SYSTEMS TO RAISE THE SUGGESTION. I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO FEAR IN NEW ZEALAND FROM BRITISH AGENTS AND THE SUGGESTION THAT BRITISH AGENTS BLEW UP THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IS ABSOLUTELY ABSURD. UNQUOTE

3. THIS IS ALL GOOD USEFUL STUFF. SO IS WHAT AIR MARSHAL SIR MICHAEL ARMITAGE, THE CDI, SAID IN HIS RADIO INTERVIEW HERE ON 28 AUGUST (SEE THE DA'S, CAPTAIN FERGUSON'S, TELELETTER OF TODAY TO DEFENCE DEPARTMENT AND NEWS DEPARTMENT, COPIED TO CANBERRA AND HONG KONG).

FAWCETT



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FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON (FOR PS/MR STANLEY)

TELNO 164

OF 301830Z AUGUST 85

THE SINKING OF THE BRITISH GREENPEACE SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR FOLLOWING (AS BRIEFING FOR MR. STANLEY) IS EDITED TEXT OF A BY THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO NO 10.

ON 1 JULY THE GREENPEACE SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR LEW UP AND SANK IN AUCKLAND HARBOUR. IT HAD BEEN DUE TO LEAD A PROTEST FLEET TO THE FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTING AREA AT MURUROA ATOLL. A PHOTOGRAPHER, A DUTCH NATIONAL OF PORTUGUESE EXTRACTION, DIED. THE FRENCH EMBASSY IN WELLINGTON DENIED THAT FRANCE WAS IN ANY WAY RESPONSIBLE AS EARLY AS 11 JULY. THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES ARRESTED A 'SWISS' COUPLE WITH PASSPORTS IN THE NAME OF 'TURENGE' AND CHARGED THEM WITH THE MURDER OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER. THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WERE LOOKING FOR THE CREW OF THE FRENCH YACHT OUEVA WHICH HAD VISITED WHANGAREA (NORTH OF AUCKLAND) SHORTLY BEFORE THE SINKING. THE OUEVA, DUE BACK IN NEW CALEDONIA ON 28 JULY, DISAPPEARED AFTER IT HAD CALLED AT NORFOLK ISLAND, WHERE IT WAS SEARCHED BY AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND POLICE. THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES ESTABLISHED THAT THE 'SWISS' COUPLE WERE IN FACT FRENCH CITIZENS AND MEMBERS OF THE

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FRENCH EXTERNAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (DGSE). THE SWISS GOVERNMENT HAVE PROTESTED TO THE FRENCH ABOUT THE USE OF FORGED SWISS PASSPORTS.

ON 8 AUGUST, IN FACE OF MOUNTING EVIDENCE OF FRENCH INVOLVEMENT, PRESIDENT MITTERRAND INSTRUCTED PRIME MINISTER FABUS TO ORGANISE AN ENQUIRY. FABUS APPOINTED M BERNARD TRICOT, A GAULLIST FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL AT THE ELYSEE, TO INVESTIGATE AND REPORT. MEANWHILE THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER, MR LANGE, MADE CLEAR HIS DISPLEASURE AT FRENCH AGENTS OPERATING IN NEW ZEALAND AND SAID THAT NEW ZEALAND WOULD 'SUE FRANCE' IF IT WERE CONFIRMED THAT FRENCH AGENTS HAD BLOWN UP THE RAINBOW WARRIOR.

M TRICOT SUBMITTED HIS REPORT IN THE FORM OF A LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER FABUS ON 25 AUGUST. HE BELIEVES, ON THE BASIS OF THE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO HIM, THAT THERE WAS NO OFFICIAL FRENCH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SINKING. HE THUS EXONERATES MINISTERS (IN PARTICULAR M HERNU, THE DEFENCE MINISTER, WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DGSE) AND SENIOR OFFICIALS. BUT HIS 'BELIEF' IS NOT BASED ON CLEAR EVIDENCE. TRICOT ADMITS THAT HIS REPORT IS AN INCOMPLETE ACCOUNT AND SUGGESTS THAT A FURTHER ENQUIRY MAY BE NECESSARY. SUCH EVIDENCE AS TRICOT WAS ABLE TO GATHER REVEALS:

- I) A MAJOR FRENCH SURVEILLANCE/SPYING OPERATION AGAINST GREENPEACE AND THE DEPLOYMENT OF AGENTS TO NEW ZEALAND FOR THIS PURPOSE: THE AGENTS INCLUDED THE 'TOURENGE' COUPLE AND THE CREW OF THE OUEVA;
- II) THAT THE AGENTS INCLUDED PEOPLE WITH THE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE TO PLACE MINES;
- III) AWARENESS OF POSSIBLE BRITISH SENSITIVITIES;
- IV) THAT THE REASONS FOR THINKING THAT THE CREW OF THE OUEVA WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ATTACK WERE 'NOT NEGLIGIBLE'.

THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IS A BRITISH SHIP BUILT AND REGISTERED IN ABERDEEN, MANAGED BY THE UK COMPANY GREENPEACE (RAINBOW WARRIOR HOLDINGS) LTD, AND OWNED BY A COMPANY BASED IN THE DEPENDENT TERRITORY OF THE CAYMAN ISLANDS. IT WOULD THEREFORE BE OPEN TO

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THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT UNDER THE MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS TO HOLD AN ENQUIRY INTO THE LOSS OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR.

INTEREST HERE CENTRED ON ALLEGATIONS, WHICH FIRST APPEARED IN FRANCE, THAT BRITISH INTELLIGENCE WAS IN SOME WAY INVOLVED. THESE HAVE RANGED FROM SUGGESTIONS THAT BRITISH AGENTS PLANTED THE MINES TO HINTS THAT BRITISH INTELLIGENCE TIPPED OFF THE NEW ZEALANDERS ABOUT THE FRENCH SURVEILLANCE OPERATIONS. MR LANGE HAS DESCRIBED THE SUGGESTIONS AS 'A COMPLETELY MISCHIEVOUS DIVERSION', AND STATED THAT THERE IS NOTHING TO FEAR IN NEW ZEALAND FROM BRITISH AGENTS AND THAT THE SUGGESTION THAT BRITISH AGENTS BLEW UP THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IS 'ABSOLUTELY ABSURD'.

WE HAVE POINTED OUT PRIVATELY TO FRENCH OFFICIALS THE RESTRAINT WITH WHICH THE UK HAS TREATED MISLEADING REPORTS IN THE FRENCH MEDIA AND SUGGESTED THAT THEY SEEK TO PUT AN END TO ANY ATTEMPTS AT DISINFORMATION. WHILE REFUSING TO BE PROVOKED INTO COMMENTING FURTHER THAN NECESSARY ON MATTERS AFFECTING SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE, WE HAVE LEFT THE BRITISH PRESS IN NO DOUBT OFF THE RECORD THAT THE REPORTS OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT ARE UNFOUNDED.

WE HAVE TAKEN THE VIEW THAT WE CAN RELY ON THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES TO UNCOVER THE FACTS AND THAT THERE IS NO NEED FOR A SEPARATE BRITISH ENQUIRY. MR LANGE HAS REQUESTED US TO SEND AN UNDERWATER EXPLOSIVES EXPERT TO ASSIST IN THE NEW ZEALAND INVESTIGATIONS. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE IS SURE THAT WE SHOULD AGREE TO DO THIS AND CONSIDERS THAT THE REQUEST AND OUR AGREEMENT SHOULD BE MADE PUBLIC.

GREENPEACE BELIEVE THAT THE FRENCH SANK THEIR SHIP AND HAVE CALLED ON FRANCE TO PAY FOR THE MATERIAL DAMAGE AND COMPENSATE THE FAMILY OF THE PHOTOGRAPHER. MR LLOYD CUTLER, A FORMER ADVISER TO PRESIDENT CARTER, HAS BEEN RETAINED BY GREENPEACE FOR EVENTUAL LEGAL PROCEEDINGS. WE HAVE HEARD THAT THEY ARE SENDING A LETTER TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SEEKING ASSISTANCE.

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FM PCO

TO IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON

TELNO 163

OF 301630Z AUGUST 85

(17) YOUR TELNO 237 AND PARIS TELNO 708 : RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. YOU WILL NOW HAVE SEEN OUR TELNO 455 TO PARIS. HOPEFULLY THIS WILL LEAD TO A REDUCTION IN THE FLOW OF DISINFORMATION.
2. NEVERTHELESS WE AGREE THAT MR STANLEY MAY FACE QUESTIONING AND THAT NEWS OF HIS VISIT MAY PROVOKE QUESTIONS IN PARIS.
3. WHEN ANSWERING ENQUIRIES, POSTS AND MR STANLEY'S PARTY SHOULD STRESS THAT HIS VISIT IS IN NO WAY CONNECTED TO THIS AFFAIR, HAVING BEEN PLANNED WELL BEFORE THE SINKING. IF ASKED WHETHER THE SUBJECT WILL BE DISCUSSED YOU SHOULD SAY THAT IT WOULD BE SURPRISING IF IT WERE NOT.
4. ON THE QUESTION OF BRITISH INTELLIGENCE INVOLVEMENT WE MUST MAINTAIN THE LINE THAT WE DO NOT COMMENT ON SUCH ALLEGATIONS, HOWEVER FAR-FETCHED. WE CAN AGREE TO DIRECT REFERENCE TO MR LANGE'S HELPFUL STATEMENT, WITHOUT THE UNATTRIBUTABLE POINTS SUGGESTED IN PARIS TOR.
5. ON 29 AUGUST WE RECEIVED VIA NZ HIGH COMMISSION A REQUEST TO PROVIDE A MINE CLEARANCE DIVING OFFICER TO HELP INVESTIGATE THE SINKING. THIS IS BEING PUT TO MINISTERS WITH THE RECOMMENDATION THAT WE AGREE. ADDITIONALLY WE ARE PROPOSING THAT OUR AGREEMENT BE CONVEYED IN A LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER WHICH, SUBJECT TO MR LANGE'S AGREEMENT, WOULD BE MADE PUBLIC.

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THIS SHOULD MEET THE NEED EXPRESSED IN YOUR TELNO 233. ONCE
AGREED THE TEXT WILL BE TELEGRAPHED TO YOU.

RIFKIND

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back to me.

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FM PCO
TO DESKBY 291930Z PARIS
TELNO 455
OF 291800Z AUGUST 85

GREENPEACE

1. NEWS DEPARTMENT HAVE BEEN TOLD BY THE SUNDAY TIMES THAT THEIR PARIS CORRESPONDENT HAD BEEN IN TOUCH TO SAY THAT FRENCH OFFICIAL SOURCES WERE BRIEFING QUOTE ANYONE WHO WOULD LISTEN UNQUOTE ABOUT BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IN THE SINKING OF THE RAINBOW WARRIOR. L'EXPRESS WAS CARRYING A STORY WHICH REFLECTED THIS BRIEFING AND PARIS MATCH WOULD DO SO ALSO. NEWS DEPARTMENT POINTED TO MR LANGE'S REMARK ABOUT BRITISH INVOLVEMENT BEING A MALICIOUS FABRICATION AND TO THE FACT THAT WE HAD ALREADY MADE CLEAR UNATTRIBUTABLY THAT WE REGARDED SUCH ALLEGATIONS AS PURE FANTASY AND DID NOT PROPOSE TO DIGNIFY THEM WITH ANY MORE FORMAL REACTION. ACCORDING TO THE SUNDAY TIMES HOWEVER FRENCH GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES WERE NOW SAYING THAT THE DINGHY HAD BEEN SOLD TO SOPHIE TURENGE BY A MEMBER OF THE SBS WHO IT WAS WELL KNOWN (SIC) HAD CLOSE RELATIONS WITH MI6.
2. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHICH FRENCH AUTHORITIES ARE THE SOURCE OF THIS BRIEFING. BUT WE SHOULD TRY URGENTLY TO PUT A STOP TO IT. GRATEFUL THEREFORE IF YOU WOULD APPROACH WHATEVER AUTHORITIES YOU CONSIDER APPROPRIATE TAKING THE LINE THAT WE HAVE BEHAVED WITH MUCH RESTRAINT THROUGHOUT THIS AFFAIR IN NOT WISHING TO MAKE MATTERS WORSE FOR THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. WE NOW EXPECT THEM FOR THEIR PART TO PUT AN END TO THIS

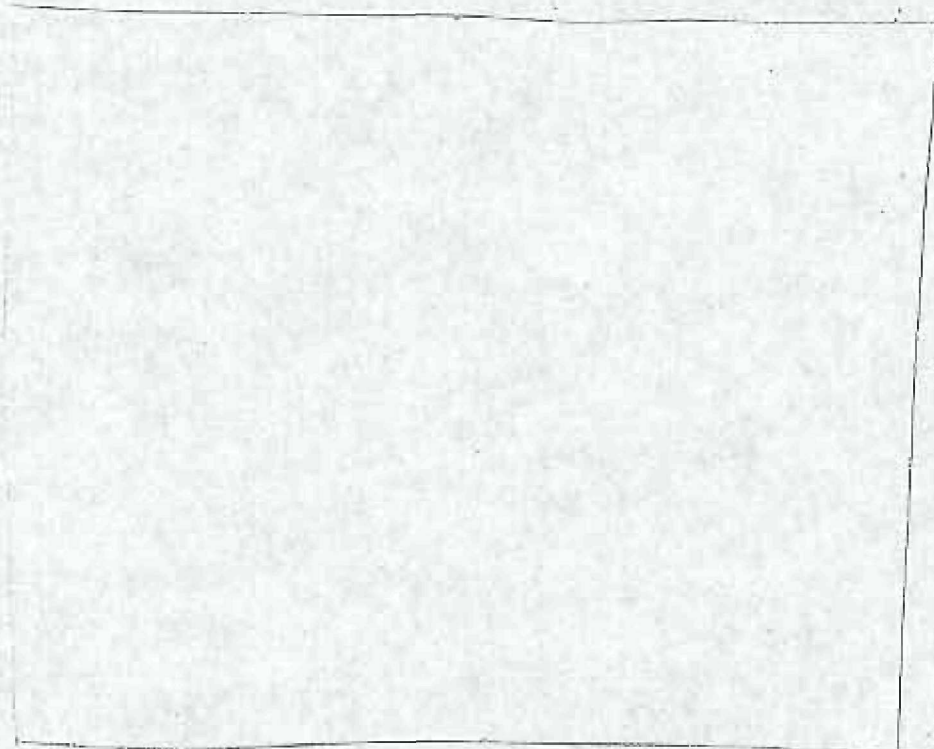
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CAMPAIGN OF DISINFORMATION. WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL ALSO MAKE CLEAR
ON THE RECORD THAT THEY DO NOT BELIEVE THESE ALLEGATIONS.

RIFKIND



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FM PARIS

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 709

OF 291600Z AUGUST 85

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FPZ 17511

MY TELNO 705 : GREENPEACE

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY	
30 AUG 1985	
DISPATCHED	REGISTRY
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SUMMARY

1. THE STORY HAS LARGELY MOVED OFF THE FRONT PAGES AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. BUT THE SO-CALLED BRITISH CONNECTION THEME CONTINUES TO RUN, NOT HELPED BY A FURTHER NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW WITH TRICOT. THE LOCAL TIMES CORRESPONDENT WAS INVITED BY FRENCH RADIO TO BE INTERVIEWED ON THE SAME SUBJECT, BUT DECLINED. AS SEEN FROM HERE A CLEAR DENIAL OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT WOULD HELP.

DETAIL

2. WITH LITTLE NEW MATERIAL TO FEED IT, PRESS COVERAGE IS TODAY MUCH LESS EXTENSIVE. BUT YESTERDAY'S DAILY MAIL REPORT ABOUT AN ALLEGED FURTHER LONDON CONNECTION HAS BEEN WIDELY RECYCLED AND HAS HELPED FUEL CONTINUING SPECULATION THAT SOMEHOW OR OTHER THE BRITISH HAVE HAD A HAND IN THINGS. IN AN INTERVIEW WITH LIBERATION (INDEPENDENT LEFT-WING DAILY), TRICOT HIMSELF WAS ASKED ABOUT 'THE LONDON MYSTERIES' AND REPLIED 'THESE ARE AMONG THE FACTORS WHICH MAKE ME THINK THERE MUST BE OTHER ASPECTS TO THIS AFFAIR WHICH HAVE NOT GENERALLY BEEN BROUGHT OUT. I HOPE I AM NOT TELLING FABLES WHEN I SAY THAT SOMETHING HAS HAPPENED WHICH GOES BEYOND THE DGSE. TO SAY THAT ONE WOULD HAVE GONE TO LONDON TO BUY A ZODIAC WHICH ONE CAN FIND ANYWHERE AND THEN TELEPHONE A SECRET NUMBER OF THE DGSE SEEMS TO ME BREATHTAKING . . . ALL THIS IS PART OF THE THINGS I DO NOT UNDERSTAND'.

3. IN ITS 29 AUGUST EDITION, LE MONDE'S LONDON CORRESPONDENT COMMENTS IN PASSING THAT HMG'S RELUCTANCE TO MAKE ANY AUTHORITATIVE COMMENT RISKS ENCOURAGING THE SERIOUS CHARGES BEING MADE AGAINST THE BRITISH SERVICES. EVEN ANDRE FONTAINE IN TODAY'S LE MONDE LISTS 'BRITISH MI6' AS AMONG POSSIBLE SOURCES WHICH COULD HAVE HAD AN INTEREST IN MOUNTING A 'PROVOCATION', THOUGH HE COMES DOWN IN FAVOUR OF A MORE ORTHODOX INTERPRETATION OF WHY THE TRICOT REPORT IS UNSATISFACTORY AND WHY SUSPICIONS OF DEEPER DGSE INVOLVEMENT NEED TO BE CLEARED UP.

4. DIANA SEDDES, THE LOCAL TIMES CORRESPONDENT HERE, WAS YESTERDAY APPROACHED BY FRENCH RADIO WHO WANTED TO INTERVIEW HER ABOUT THE ALLEGED BRITISH TRAIL, BUT HAS SO FAR REFUSED PLEADING THAT SHE HAS ONLY JUST GOT BACK FROM HOLIDAY. WE HAVE GIVEN HER UNATTRIBUTABLE BRIEFING ON THE LINES AUTHORISED BY THE DEPARTMENT.

1 COMMENT

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COMMENT

5. ALTHOUGH OVERALL PRESS COVERAGE CONTINUES TO IMPLY THAT THE FINGER OF GUILT POINTS ELSEWHERE AND REFERENCES TO THE BRITISH HAVE BECOME MORE NUANCE, THE FRENCH AND BRITISH PRESS SEEM TO BE FEEDING OFF ONE ANOTHER AND EVERY NEW REFERENCE BRINGS A FRESH STIRRING OF FACTS AND FANTASIES ALIKE. IF YOU WANT TO NAIL THE LATTER / EFFECTIVELY, A MORE AUTHORITATIVE OFFICIAL REBUTTAL OF THOSE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE KNOWN TO BE NONSENSE SEEMS CALLED FOR. PERHAPS ONE COULD DO SO WITHOUT VIOLATING EXISTING CANONS BY REFERRING DIRECTLY TO LANGE'S OWN UNAMBIGUOUS REJECTION OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT AND ~~ADDING UNATTRIBUTABLY THAT THE NEW ZEALAND PRIME MINISTER FELT~~ ABLE TO DO THIS DESPITE THE FACT THAT ON SUBSTANTIVE POLICY ISSUES (NUCLEAR TESTING, NUCLEAR SHIP VISITS, ETC) HMG IS ACTUALLY QUITE CLOSE TO THE FRENCH AND HAS ITS OWN PROBLEMS WITH WELLINGTON.

6. IN THIS CONTEXT MR STANLEY'S OWN VISIT TO NEW ZEALAND MAY NEED DEFT HANDLING IF THE RUMOUR-MONGERS ARE NOT TO HAVE A FIELD DAY. GRATEFUL FOR LINE TO TAKE IF WE ARE ASKED ABOUT IT HERE.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO U/W
OF 290712Z AUGUST 85

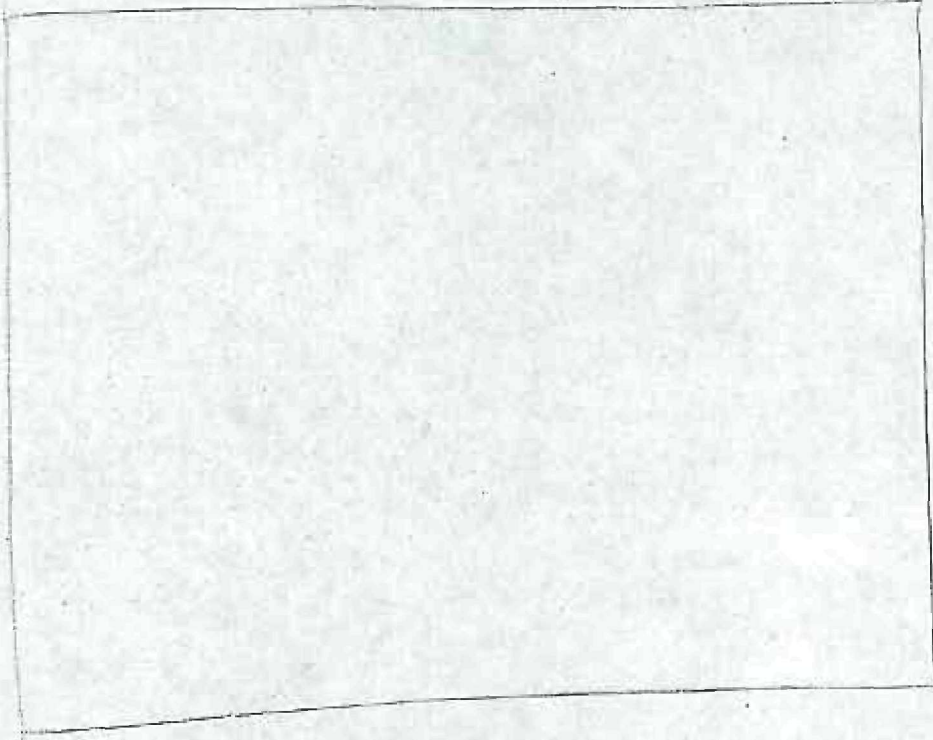


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MY TELNO 705 GREENPEACE: REACTIONS TO FABIOUS STATEMENT

1. PLEASE AMEND PARA 1 LINE 5 TO READ:
"INCREASINGLY INHIBITED ABOUT CRITICISING THE GOVERNMENT ON A
MATTER OF NATIONAL SECURITY. MORE PRESS STORIES ON POSSIBLE...."
2. ERROR REGRETTED

WESTON



~~RESTRICTED~~

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702 175/1
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2. HE SAID "THE MATTER IS ESSENTIALLY ONE FOR RESOLUTION BETWEEN NEW ZEALAND AND FRANCE BUT THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT VIEWS THE MANNER IN WHICH THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS HANDLED THE MATTER WITH GREAT CONCERN. DEPENDING ON THE OUTCOME OF COURT PROCEEDINGS IN NEW ZEALAND THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT MAY WISH TO PRESENT SOME FIRM FORMAL VIEWS. AUSTRALIANS ARE DISMAYED THAT AN ACT OF TERRORISM OF THIS NATURE HAD BEEN COMMITTED IN OUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD." SENATOR EVENS SAID THAT THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT SHARED THE VIEW THAT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE GUILTY PARTIES, WHOEVER THEY MIGHT BE, SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE FOR THEIR CRIME.

This image shows a blank, aged, cream-colored page, likely an endpaper or flyleaf of a book. The paper has a slightly textured appearance with some faint smudges and discoloration, characteristic of old paper. The right edge of the page is bordered by a dark, possibly black, binding material. There is no text or other markings on the page.

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FPZ 175/1

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FM WELLINGTON

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

DESKBY 290900Z

TELNO 233

OF 290312Z AUGUST 85

(50)
YOUR TELNO 157: GREENPEACE SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. AT A LUNCHEON I GAVE FOR CDI TODAY TIM FRANCIS, DEPUTY SECRETARY, NZMFA, SAID TO THE DA THAT THE NZ GOVERNMENT FELT IT WAS HIGH TIME THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SENT AT LEAST A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY ABOUT THE RAINBOW WARRIOR AFFAIR. THE NZ GOVT, FRANCIS ADDED, WAS ALWAYS SCRUPULOUS IN SENDING A MESSAGE OF SYMPATHY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WHEN THERE WAS A TERRORIST OUTRAGE IN THE UK.

2. NO OTHER PROBLEMS OR CRITICISM ENCOUNTERED. BUT FRANCIS HAS A POINT. A SUITABLE MESSAGE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED.

FAWCETT

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DESK OFFICER	REGISTRY
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RM HQ

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 282100Z WELLINGTON

TELNO 151

OF 281130Z AUGUST 85

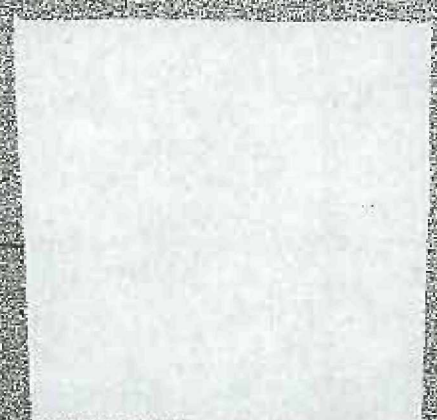
YOUR TELNO 229 GREENPAC SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR

(48)

(49)

IN A RADIO INTERVIEW YESTERDAY MRS TAYLOR MP CALLED ON THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO MAKE A STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF NEW ZEALAND. AS A RESULT WE HAVE BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE THE SECRETARY OF STATE WITH AN ASSESSMENT OF HOW NEW ZEALAND REGARDS ENGLAND IN THIS CONTEXT. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY DISSATISFACTION WITH US ON THE PART OF THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT, NOR OF ANY PRESSURE ON US TO INTERVENE, AND MR TANGE'S COMMENT, REPORTED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF YOUR TOR, WAS REPEATED. UNLESS YOU ADVISE OTHERWISE, WE PROPOSE TO INFORM THE SECRETARY OF STATE THAT THE AFFAIR HAS NOT CHANGED, AND PROBLEMS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE PROTECTED FOR A REPLY BY DESKBY 0000Z ON 29 AUGUST.

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FM WELLINGTON
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 229
OF 28 AUGUST 85



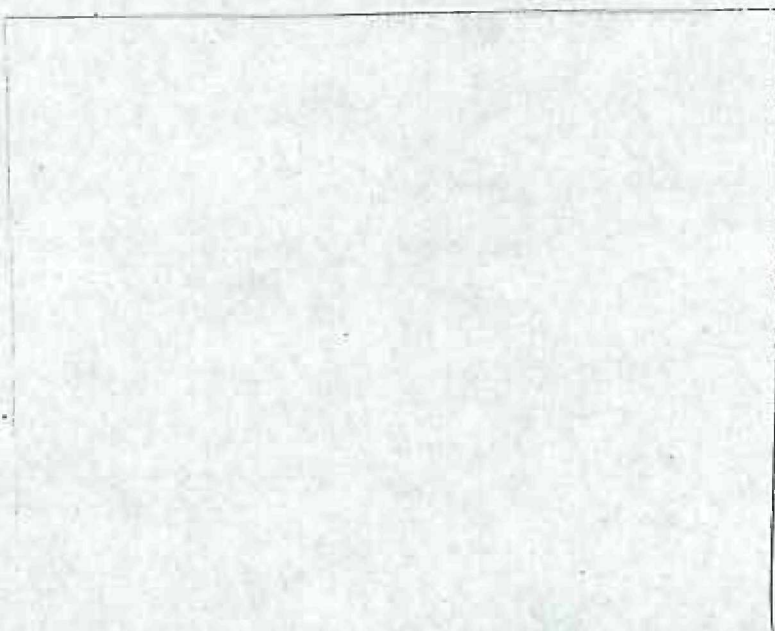
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GREENPEACE SHIP RAINBOW WARRIOR: MR LANGE'S REACTION TO M. FABIOUS'S STATEMENT

1. MR LANGE IS ON THE WHOLE PLEASED WITH M. FABIOUS'S STATEMENT. HE REGARDS IT AS QUOTE THE NEAREST THING TO A CONSTRUCTIVE APOLOGY UNQUOTE THAT NEW ZEALAND IS LIKELY TO GET. THERE IS NOW NO QUESTION OF THE EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR, THOUGH MR LANGE STILL SUGGESTS THAT THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT MAY WISH TO SUMMON HIM HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS. MR LANGE CONSIDERS IT A BREAKTHROUGH THAT M. FABIOUS HAS ORDERED A FURTHER INVESTIGATION AND HAS SPOKEN OF POSSIBLE JUDICIAL ACTION AGAINST FRENCH CITIZENS, THOUGH HE (MR LANGE) WOULD STILL PREFER THE CREW OF THE OUEVA VOLUNTARILY TO SUBMIT TO TRIAL IN NEW ZEALAND.

2. MR LANGE WAS ASKED ABOUT REPORTS THAT THE BRITISH SECRET SERVICE HAD SUNK THE RAINBOW WARRIOR. HE REJECTED THEM AS MALICIOUS FABRICATIONS.

FAWCETT



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175/1

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FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE FCO
TELNO 705
OF 281530Z AUGUST 85
INFO IMMEDIATE WELLINGTON

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 62	
29 AUG	
DESK OFFICER	175/1
INDEX	24

7/8 JMA

47

MY TELNO 702 : GREENPEACE : REACTIONS TO FABIOUS STATEMENT

SUMMARY

1. UNIVERSALLY AGREED THAT TRICOT HAS NOT HELPED TO CLEAR UP THE MYSTERY. FABIOUS' CAREFUL STATEMENT SUGGESTS FRENCH GOVERNMENT HOPE TO RIDE OUT STORM BUT HE HAS LEFT HIMSELF A BOLT HOLE IF SUBSEQUENTLY NEW EMBARRASSING EVIDENCE TURNS UP. OPPOSITION INCREASINGLY INHIBITED ABOUT CRITICISING THE GOVERNMENT ON A POSSIBLE BRITISH INVOLVEMENT CONTAIN NO NEW FACTS BUT DWELL ON ALLEGED HOSTILITY BETWEEN BRITISH AND FRENCH SERVICES.

DETAIL

2. THIS MORNING'S PRESS AND LAST NIGHT'S TELEVISION NEWS LIST UP TO 20 OBVIOUS QUESTIONS LEFT UNANSWERED BY TRICOT WHICH POINT TO FRENCH RESPONSIBILITY. BOTH JOSPIN (PS FIRST SECRETARY) AND TOUBON (RPR SECRETARY-GENERAL) CALL FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS TO UNCOVER THE FULL TRUTH OF THE AFFAIR. LE MONDE HOWEVER SEES IT AS SIGNIFICANT THAT FABIOUS HAS PUT THE ONUS ON THE NEW ZEALANDERS TO COME UP WITH THE ANSWERS. FABIOUS' ATTITUDE TO TRICOT'S REPORT RECEIVES DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS. THE OPPOSITION PRESS ACCUSE HIM OF USING TRICOT'S REPORT TO COVER HIMSELF (LIKE A TOTALITARIAN REGIME MANUFACTURING THE TRUTH, ACCORDING TO LE QUOTIDIEN) AND TO BY-PASS NORMAL POLICE INVESTIGATION (FIGARO). LIBERATION HOWEVER SEES IN FABIOUS' CAREFUL PHRASING A KIND OF DISAVOWAL OF TRICOT'S CONCLUSIONS. TRICOT'S REPORT, BY CLEARING EVERYONE, INCREASED THE DANGER THAT IN THE LIGHT OF FURTHER REVELATIONS THE GOVERNMENT COULD FIND ITSELF ACCUSED OF HAVING AUTHORISED THE SABOTAGE OR TRIED TO COVER IT UP. FABIOUS HAS SEEN THE TRAP.

3. OPPOSITION REACTIONS AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL ARE MUTED. THE RPR FROM CHIRAC DOWNWARDS CLAIM NOT TO WISH TO MAKE POLITICS OUT OF AN AFFAIR OF NATIONAL SECURITY. GISCARD TAKES THE SAME LINE, QUOTING THE ADAGE: 'MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG'. LECANUET (UDF AND CHAIRMAN OF SENATE DEFENCE COMMITTEE) HOWEVER DENOUNCES THE NEW REPORTS ON INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES AS A 'NONSENSE'. ANOTHER STRAND OF OPPOSITION THOUGHT, DEVELOPED PUBLICLY BY GAUDIN, IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO MAKE DGSE OFFICERS TAKE THE RAP FOR THE AFFAIR WITHOUT ADMITTING POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY. SOME THUS CLAIM A CONTRADICTION BETWEEN ACCEPTING TRICOT'S CONCLUSION THAT THE DGSE AGENTS ARE INNOCENT AND CALLING FOR 'WEAKNESSES' AT THE DGSE TO BE REMEDIED.

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4. TWO PAPERS REVERT AT LENGTH TO THE SUPPOSED BRITISH CONNECTION. LE MATIN AGAIN PUBLISHES AN INTERVIEW WITH EX-DST CHIEF WYBOT, WHO AGAIN CLAIMS THAT THERE IS A BRITISH MOLE IN THE DGSE AND THAT THE BRITISH TIPPED OFF THE NEW ZEALANDERS. HE QUOTES THE SALE OF EXOCETS TO ARGENTINA AND THE EXPLOSIVES AFFAIR DURING MITTERRAND'S STATE VISIT AS REASONS FOR BRITISH HOSTILITY. A COMPANION ARTICLE DESCRIBES THE VARIOUS CALLS IN LONDON FOR AN ENQUIRY. LE QUOTIDIEN ASKS WHO COULD HAVE SUNK THE RAINBOW WARRIOR IF NOT THE DGSE, AND AMONG VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES SPECULATES THAT THE BRITISH SECRET SERVICES COULD EITHER HAVE SUNK THE BOAT THEMSELVES OR MERELY TIPPED OFF THE NEW ZEALANDERS ABOUT FRENCH PLANS. IT DEVELOPS THE THEME OF HOSTILITY BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND FRENCH SERVICES, QUOTING FROM THE MAVERICK AUTHOR ROGER FALIGOT VARIOUS RECENT ESPIONNAGE AFFAIRS INCLUDING THAT IN NEW DELHI. LANGE'S DENIAL OF BRITISH INVOLVEMENT IS REPORTED IN LE MONDE, BUT WAS APPARENTLY TOO LATE FOR THE MORNING PRESS.

COMMENT

5. WITH BOTH THE TRICOT REPORT AND THE FABUS STATEMENT NOW BEHIND THEM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ARE NO DOUBT NOW HOPING FOR SOME RELIEF FROM THE VERY HIGH AND SUSTAINED LEVEL OF POLITICAL AND MEDIA CRITICISM OVER THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR. FABUS HAS TRIED TO STEER A CHARACTERISTICALLY DELICATE COURSE. HE HAS COVERED HIMSELF AS BEST HE CAN AGAINST THE POSSIBILITY THAT NEW INFORMATION MAY COME TO LIGHT WHICH WILL PROVE THE GUILT OF THE DGSE AGENTS. HE HAS TAKEN A SUITABLE FIRM LINE ON DETERMINATION TO PROTECT THE FRENCH NATIONAL INTEREST AND IN DOING SO HAS RESTRICTED THE OPPOSITION'S ROOM FOR MANOEUVRE. HIS TOTAL CONDEMNATION OF THE SINKING AND HIS ANNOUNCEMENT THAT SHORTCOMINGS AT THE DGSE WILL BE REMEDIED AND PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF THE SECRET SERVICES BROUGHT INTO EFFECT HAD BEEN WELCOMED BY GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS. EVEN LANGE SEEMS PARTLY APPEASED (WELLINGTON TELNO 229). BUT THERE IS STILL AN ELEMENT OF CALCULATED IF UNAVOIDABLE RISK IN THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING. THEIR EXPLICIT IF LIMITED CRITICISM OF DGSE SHORTCOMINGS COULD HAVE FURTHER INTERNAL REVERBERATIONS HERE. AND IF SOME WELL PLACED INTERLOCUTORS SEEM CONFIDENT THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN NOW RIDE OUT THE STORM, OTHERS CONTINUE TO HEDGE THEIR BETS HEAVILY, GIVEN A WIDESPREAD READINESS TO BELIEVE THAT THE DGSE DID IN FACT DO THE DEED AND UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW MUCH FURTHER EVIDENCE THE NEW ZEALANDERS HAVE IN THEIR POCKET.

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- ARMITAGE
News Dept, (15)

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UNCLASSIFIED
FM WELLINGTON
TO TELETYPE FCO
OF 290412Z AUGUST 85

FROM: CAPTAIN R D FERGUSON, DA, WELLINGTON
FOLLOWING FOR: DEFENCE DEPT AND NEWS DEPT, FCO
COPIED TO: CANBERRA
CBF HONG KONG FOR MR STANLEY MIN(AE).

GREENPEACE

THE FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF A RADIO NZ INTERVIEW CONDUCTED WITH
CDI, AIR MARSHAL SIR MICHAEL ARMITAGE ON 29 AUGUST 1985 IN WHICH
THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR FIGURED LARGELY.

QUOTE

REPORTER

CHIEF OF BRITAIN'S DEFENCE INTELLIGENCE SERVICE IS IN WELLINGTON FOR
TALKS WITH NEW ZEALAND DEFENCE OFFICIALS. AIR MARSHAL SIR MICHAEL
ARMITAGE SAYS HIS VISIT IS A ROUTINE ONE ARRANGED AT LEAST FOUR
MONTHS AGO.

CDI: I HAVE BEEN TALKING TO THE HEADS OF THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES
HERE IN NEW ZEALAND AND I SHALL BE DOING MY ROUNDS TOMORROW
TALKING TO SOME OF THE OTHER PEOPLE IN THE INTELLIGENCE BUSINESS.

REPORTER: WHAT ABOUT CABINET MINISTERS AND THE PRIME MINISTER, MR

REPORTER: WILL YOU BE TALKING TO DEFENCE OFFICIALS ABOUT THE GREENPEACE BOMBING?

CDI: I DON'T SEE HOW I COULD BE ASKED TO TAKE PART IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE GREENPEACE INCIDENT BECAUSE IT REALLY HAS NOTHING WHATEVER TO DO WITH DEFENCE INTELLIGENCE WHICH IS MY BUSINESS.

REPORTER: WILL YOU BE MENTIONING IT AT ALL IN YOUR TALKS.

CDI: I VERY MUCH DOUBT IT. I KNOW NOTHING MORE THAN I HAVE BEEN READING IN THE NEWSPAPERS ABOUT IT.

REPORTER: ISN'T THAT RATHER EXTRAORDINARY THIS IS THE INTELLIGENCE MATTER OF THE DAY AND YOU WON'T BE DISCUSSING IT AT ALL?

CDI: THERE ARE DIFFERENT COMPARTMENTS EVEN WITHIN INTELLIGENCE AND CERTAINLY I KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THE GREENPEACE THING APART FROM WHAT I HAVE READ IN YOUR OWN NEWSPAPERS.

REPORTER: WILL YOU BE DENYING BRITISH INVOLVEMENT. BRITISH INTELLIGENCE INVOLVEMENT IN THE GREENPEACE AFFAIR?

CDI: IF I WERE ASKED WHETHER THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN INVOLVED I WOULD SAY THE WHOLE IDEA WAS QUITE ABSURD IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT BRITISH INTELLIGENCE WOULD BE MIXED UP IN THIS AFFAIR.

REPORTER: WERE THEY THOUGH IN ANY WAY AWARE THAT FRENCH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS WERE HERE?

CDI: WHERE HERE IN NEW ZEALAND? I CAN'T ANSWER THAT. I WOULD BE VERY SURPRISED IF THEY HAD KNOWN. WE DON'T HAVE ANY INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES OUT HERE IN THE FAR EAST.

REPORTER: HAVE YOU CONDUCTED AN ENQUIRY AT ALL INTO BRITISH INVOLVEMENT AMONG YOUR OFFICIALS.

CDI: CERTAINLY NOT IN MY DEFENCE INTELLIGENCE STAFF NO.

REPORTER: WILL YOU BE?

CDI: NO I WON'T I SEE NO NEED TO DO. I KNOW FOR A FACT THAT NONE OF MY PEOPLE WERE INVOLVED AND AS I SAID I FIND IT INCONCEIVABLE THAT ANYBODY IN BRITISH INTELLIGENCE WOULD BE INVOLVED IN THE

REPORTER: WELL NOW THE SHADOW BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER, GEORGE FOULKES SAYS THAT THE ACCUSATIONS THAT BRITISH INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS WERE IN SOME WAY INVOLVED HAS THE RING TRUTH. HE HAS CALLED FOR A FULL INQUIRY.

CDI: THATS THE SORT OF THING THAT GEORGE FOULKES WOULD DO. I CAN'T ANSWER FOR THE KIND OF REMARKS HE MAKES BACK IN LONDON.

REPORTER: SO WHAT WILL YOU BE TALKING ABOUT?

CDI: OH THE FACT THAT NEW ZEALAND HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL INTELLIGENCE EXCHANGES DOESN'T EXCLUDE THE BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT HAVE EXISTED FOR A VERY LONG TIME BETWEEN MY COUNTRY AND YOURS. THOSE ARRANGEMENTS HAVE BEEN IN PLACE FOR MANY YEARS AND WE ARE DOING WHAT WE CAN TO MAINTAIN THEM.

REPORTER: SO YOU WILL BE TRYING TO FILL THE GAP LEFT BY AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE.

CDI: NO I DON'T THINK I COULD PUT IT LIKE THAT. ALL I CAN SAY IS THAT THE BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS THAT WE HAVE ENJOYED FOR SO LONG CONTINUE AND IT IS ONE OF MY FUNCTIONS TO MAKE SURE THAT THEY DO CONTINUE IN THAT WAY.

REPORTER: WHAT ABOUT THE INCREASING SOVIET INTEREST IN FISHING RIGHTS AND SO ON IN KIRIBATI, TUVALU, VANUATU?

CDI: YES THAT IS VERY INTERESTING. IT MAY BE THAT WE ARE SEEING SOME QUITE FUNDAMENTAL SHIFT IN SOVIET INTEREST. THERE ARE MANY THINGS GOING ON. YOU'VE MENTIONED ONE OF THEM, THE SOVIET EXERCISE WAS ANOTHER AND I THINK IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS ARE TAKING AN INTEREST IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. SOMETHING YOU WILL WANT TO WATCH VERY CLOSELY AND SO WILL WE. UNQUOTE

SIGNED R D FERGUSON



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pg 1
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FM FCO

TO IMMEDIATE PARIS

TELNO 449

OF 271750Z AUGUST 85

WRF 1201/2

19 AUG 1985

CP 29/8

YOUR TEL 700: SINKING OF RAINBOW WARRIOR

1. YOU WILL HAVE SEEN THE HAGUE TEL 273. THE ALLEGATIONS ABOUT MR DAVID CHAPMAN ARE ALSO ENTIRELY WITHOUT FOUNDATION.
2. NEWS DEPARTMENT HAVE NOT HAD ANY ENQUIRIES RESULTING FROM THE LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS ARTICLE. IF THEY DO, THEY WILL TAKE THE LINE ON THE RECORD THAT, IT IS NOT OUR PRACTICE TO COMMENT ON MATTERS OF SECURITY. IF ASKED THEY WOULD CONFIRM THAT MR MARK CHAPMAN IS A MEMBER OF HM DIPLOMATIC SERVICE BUT POINT OUT THAT MR CHAPMAN HAS NO SON CALLED DAVID AND THAT THE DAVID CHAPMAN MENTIONED HAS NO FAMILY OR OTHER CONNECTION WITH MARK CHAPMAN. UNATTRIBUTABLY THEY WILL DESCRIBE THE ARTICLE AS PURE FANTASY.
3. YOU AND INFORMATION ADDRESSEES MAY ALSO TAKE THIS LINE IN ANSWER TO ENQUIRIES.

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FM PARIS

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 702

OF 271620Z AUGUST 85

(47)

PK.
FPZ 175/1

✓ FM

MY TELNO 701: GREENPEACE: FABIUS' STATEMENT

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT (OUR TRANSLATION) WAS READ BY FABIUS TO THE PRESS THIS AFTERNOON. HE REFUSED TO ANSWER QUESTIONS.

BEGINS:

ON 8 AUGUST, AFTER DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT, I ASKED M. BERNARD TRICOT, COUNSELLOR OF STATE, TO CARRY OUT AN ADMINISTRATIVE ENQUIRY ABOUT THE ALLEGED LINK BETWEEN THE FRENCH SERVICES AND THE ATTACK IN NEW ZEALAND AGAINST THE RAINBOW WARRIOR.

I ASKED M. TRICOT TO BRING TOGETHER IN HIS REPORT ALL THE INFORMATION ON THIS AFFAIR AND TO TELL ME WHETHER FRENCH AGENTS, SERVICES OF AUTHORITIES COULD HAVE BEEN INFORMED OF THE PREPARATION OF A CRIMINAL ATTACK OR EVEN HAVE PARTICIPATED IN IT.

M. TRICOT DELIVERED HIS REPORT ON 25 AUGUST. AS I HAD PROMISED, IT WAS PUBLISHED ON 26 AUGUST. I HAVE STUDIED IT CAREFULLY. NOW AS PRIME MINISTER I SHOULD MAKE A STATEMENT ON IT.

AS FOR THE FACTS, AND LIMITING MYSELF TO THE ESSENTIAL POINTS. M. TRICOT THINKS THAT THE FRENCH SERVICES WERE IN FACT ENGAGED IN A SURVEILLANCE MISSION CONNECTED WITH FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS IN THE PACIFIC. ON THE OTHER HAND HE BELIEVES THAT NEITHER THE PEOPLE CHARGED IN NEW ZEALAND NOR THE CREW OF THE OUEVA WERE INVOLVED IN THE ATTACK ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR FOR WHICH THEY HAD RECEIVED NO ORDERS.

I MYSELF DO NOT, AT THIS POINT, POSSESS ANY INFORMATION ALLOWING ME TO CONTRADICT THIS VIEW. IT IS THEREFORE THE BASIS FOR MY INITIAL DECISIONS.

1. THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES SHOULD TRANSMIT TO THE FRENCH JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES ALL THE INFORMATION IN THEIR POSSESSION ABOUT THIS AFFAIR. IF IT APPEARED THAT CRIMINAL ACTS HAD BEEN COMMITTED BY FRENCH CITIZENS, JUDICIAL ACTION WOULD IMMEDIATELY BE TAKEN AGAINST THEM. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT IS DETERMINED THAT NOTHING SHOULD REMAIN COVERED UP.

2. M. TRICOT'S REPORT REVEALS IMPORTANT DEFICIENCIES IN THE WORKING OF THE DGSE. QUESTIONS REMAIN. I ASK THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, WHO WILL AT ONCE CONTINUE HIS INVESTIGATIONS, TO LOOK CAREFULLY AT THESE DEFICIENCIES SO THAT THEY CAN BE REMEDIED.

3. THE PROBLEM POSED IS ALSO THAT OF THE CONTROL OF INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN A DEMOCRACY. EVERY MAJOR COUNTRY NEEDS INTELLIGENCE SERVICES. AT THE SAME TIME THESE MUST BE SUBJECT TO CONTROL. THE /SITUATION

SITUATION IN THIS RESPECT DOES NOT SEEM TO ME SATISFACTORY.

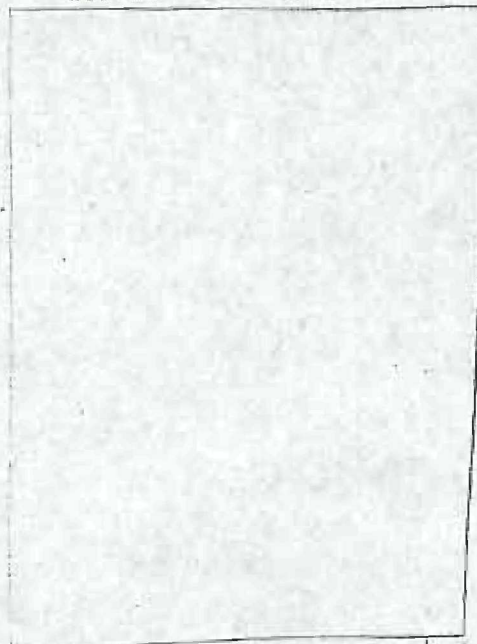
I INSTRUCT THE MINISTERS OF DEFENCE AND OF THE INTERIOR IN FUTURE TO SUBMIT TO THE CHAIRMEN OF THE DEFENCE COMMITTEES OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, AN ANNUAL DETAILED REPORT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN THEIR CHARGE.

THE QUESTION OF OUR RELATIONS WITH NEW ZEALAND HAS BEEN POSED. IN THE PAST WE HAVE ALWAYS HAD FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEW ZEALAND. WE UNDERSTAND THE EMOTION AROUSED THERE BY A CRIMINAL ATTACK. THIS EMOTION EXISTS ALSO IN FRANCE.

AS A NUCLEAR POWER AND PACIFIC POWER, WE HAVE TO DEFEND WHAT WE THINK ARE FRANCE'S INTERESTS IN THIS REGION. THERE ARE MOVEMENTS CONTRARY TO OUR INTERESTS: NO-ONE, PARTICULARLY AMONG THOSE WHO ENCOURAGE THEM, CAN BE SURPRISED THAT WE ARE VIGILANT IN DEFENDING OUR INTERESTS.

TO END THIS STATEMENT, I WISH TO RETURN TO THE ATTACK ON THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, WHICH, LET US NOT FORGET, RESULTED IN ONE DEATH. M. TRICOT CONCLUDES THAT THE SECRET SERVICES WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. BUT THOSE WHO WERE RESPONSIBLE HAVE NOT YET BEEN IDENTIFIED. WE HOPE THAT THE NEW ZEALAND AUTHORITIES WILL DISCOVER THE TRUTH AS FAST AS POSSIBLE. WE DO NOT CONDEMN THIS ATTACK, AS IS SOMETIMES SAID, ON THE GROUNDS THAT A QUESTIONABLE PLAN WAS BADLY CARRIED OUT; WE CONDEMN TOTALLY WHAT WAS A CRIMINAL ACT. THOSE RESPONSIBLE, WHOEVER THEY MAY BE. SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. ENDS

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~~UNCLASSIFIED~~

FM PARIS
TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 271530Z FCO
TELNO 701
OF 271355Z AUGUST 85

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(43) (44)
WELLINGTON TELS NO 226 AND 228 (NOT TO ALL): GREENPEACE. REACTIONS TO TRICOT.

SUMMARY.

1. TRICOT REPORT GREETED WITH WIDESPREAD SCEPTICISM. FIRST REACTIONS RANGE FROM QUALIFIED RELIEF AMONG GOVERNMENT SUPPORTERS TO EMBARRASSMENT AMONG GAULLISTS AND SOME OUTRIGHT CRITICISM OF TRICOT FROM OTHERS IN THE OPPOSITION. FABUS WILL SPEAK ON TV THIS EVENING.

DETAIL.

2. IN TELEVISION INTERVIEWS YESTERDAY, TRICOT ADDED LITTLE TO WHAT HE HAD WRITTEN IN HIS REPORT. HE REGRETTED THAT THERE WAS NOT MORE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE. HE ADMITTED THAT IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THOSE INVOLVED HAD LIED TO HIM, BUT HE DID NOT BELIEVE IT. HE COULD NOT SAY WHO HAD CARRIED OUT THE SABOTAGE: ALL HE COULD SAY WAS THAT IN HIS VIEW CERTAIN PEOPLE HAD NOT AND THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FULLER POLICE INVESTIGATION. IN THIS MORNING'S LE MATIN, HE CRITICISES THE COOPERATION OF THE NEW ZEALAND AMBASSADOR, WHO HE CLAIMS DID NOT AGREE TO SEE HIM. THE NEW ZEALAND EMBASSY TELL US THAT THIS IS UNTRUE. OVERALL TRICOT'S REMARKS IN INTERVIEW, OFTEN IN REPLY TO FAIRLY SHARP QUESTIONING, LEAVE AN IMPRESSION THAT HE IS LESS SURE OF HIS GROUND THAN HIS WRITTEN REPORT SUGGESTS.

3. FRENCH POLITICIANS HAVE GENERALLY REACTED CAUTIOUSLY. THE RPR HAS REFUSED ALL COMMENT ON THE REPORT ITSELF (BECAUSE OF TRICOT'S GAULLIST PAST) BUT WILL DO SO ON FABUS' STATEMENT TODAY. BARRE HAS ALSO REFUSED TO COMMENT, AND GISCARD HAS BEEN SILENT. SOME UDF LEADERS HAVE HOWEVER BEEN CRITICAL. GAUDIN SAID THAT TRICOT WAS GIVEN NO REAL FACILITIES TO INVESTIGATE. LEOTARD EXPRESSED ASTONISHMENT THAT THE DGSE WAS LET OFF THE HOOK AND HIS COLLEAGUE MADELIN COMMENTED THAT THE REPORT TOOK THE FRENCH FOR IDIOTS. PONIATOWSKI (MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR UNDER GISCARD) COMMENTED THAT THE DGSE WERE QUITE CAPABLE OF HAVING WORKED UP A COORDINATED COVER-STORY.

4. THE PRESS GIVE THE REPORT EXHAUSTIVE COVERAGE. SOME PAPERS REPRINT TRICOT'S REPORT IN FULL. ALL DRAW ATTENTION TO THE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS. THESE INCLUDE:

- (A) WHY WAS IT NECESSARY TO SEND EXPERT COMBAT DIVERS ON A PHOTOGRAPHIC SURVEILLANCE MISSION?
- (B) IF THEIR MISSION WAS SO HARMLESS, WHY DID THEY CARRY FALSE PASSPORTS?
- (C) IF THEY DID NOT SINK THE RAINBOW WARRIOR, THEN WHO DID, AND HOW COULD THE EXTENSIVE DGSE SURVEILLANCE EFFORT ON THE SPOT BE IN

ALL AGREE THAT THE AFFAIR IS NOT OVER AND AWAIT FURTHER REVELATIONS, MOST PROBABLY FROM THE NEW ZEALAND POLICE. TRICOT'S REFERENCE TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT OTHER SECRET SERVICES WERE INVOLVED HAS NOT SO FAR LAUNCHED A NEW RAFT OF STORIES ABOUT A BRITISH CONNECTION; BUT BRITISH INVOLVEMENT HAS NOW ENTERED IN TO THE MYTHS SURROUNDING THE AFFAIR (EG, THIS MORNING'S RADIO NEWS GAVE PROMINENCE TO THE CALL BY A BRITISH MP FOR AN INVESTIGATION INTO WHETHER THE BRITISH SECRET SERVICES WERE INVOLVED).

5. ON THE LEFT, THE PRO-GOVERNMENT LE MATIN HEADLINES THE GOVERNMENT'S INNOCENCE AND COMMENDS THE CLARITY OF TRICOT'S EXEGESIS. THE EDITOR CHALLENGES THE OPPOSITION TO CRITICISE THE SABOTAGE AS A CRIMINAL ACTION. HE CONCLUDES THAT NEITHER FRANCE'S DEFENCE POLICY NOR HER POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN HARMED. HOWEVER, THE REST OF THE PRESS IS FAR FROM COMPLACENT. THE INDEPENDENT LEFT-WING LIBERATION CARRIES THE FRONT-PAGE HEADLINE: TRICOT WASHES WHITER. THE EDITOR ASKS WHETHER TRICOT IS NOT TELLING A LEWIS CARROLL STORY, FOR HIS CONCLUSIONS RUN SO MUCH COUNTER TO EVERYTHING THAT HAS APPEARED ON THE AFFAIR SO FAR. IF THE DGSE WERE NOT RESPONSIBLE, THEN THEY EQUALLY FAILED TO SPOT THOSE WHO WERE. THEY WERE INCOMPETENT EITHER IN ACTION OR IN GATHERING INFORMATION; EITHER WAY, THAT DAMAGES THE GOVERNMENT'S CLAIMS TO GOOD MANAGEMENT.

6. OF THE OPPOSITION PRESS, LE FIGARO DRAWS ATTENTION TO THE CAUTIOUS PHRASING OF MUCH OF TRICOT'S REPORT AND HIS OWN INSISTENCE ON THE SHORTAGE OF CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE. IT ARGUES THAT HE WAS NOT GIVEN THE MEANS FOR A THOROUGH ENQUIRY. LE QUOTIDIEN TAKES A HARDER LINE. THE TRICOT REPORT IS A CARICATURE OF WHAT ONE EXPECTED OF HIM. INSTEAD OF OBJECTIVE EVIDENCE, HE OFFERS ONLY HIS PERSONAL CONVICTIONS. HE APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN OVER-INFLUENCED BY A FALSE IDEA OF FRENCH NATIONAL INTEREST.

7. THIS AFTERNOON'S LE MONDE (WHICH GIVES THE SUBJECT FRONT PAGE LEAD PLUS EDITORIAL, AS WELL AS SIX FULL INSIDE PAGES) SAYS THAT BOTH FRANCE'S RELATIONS WITH THE PACIFIC COUNTRIES AND HER WIDER INTERNATIONAL CREDIBILITY HAVE BEEN DAMAGED. SOONER OR LATER THE MURUROA TESTS ARE CONDEMNED; THE AFFAIR HAS BROUGHT THAT MOMENT CLOSER. THE SCEPTICISM OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS (AND PARTICULARLY THE BRITISH) IS REPORTED IN DETAIL, AND LE MONDE ITSELF LISTS FURTHER QUESTIONS UNANSWERED BY TRICOT. IT CONCLUDES THAT THE USEFULNESS OF HIS REPORT LIES LESS IN HIS PERSONAL CONCLUSIONS. /OFTEN

(OFTEN CAREFULLY NUANCED) THAN IN REVEALING WHICH ARE THE MAIN
REMAINING AREAS OF UNCERTAINTY.

8. THE FOCUS NOW SWITCHES TO THE PRIME MINISTER: FABIOUS IS EXPECTED
TO MAKE HIS STATEMENT ON TV THIS EVENING.

WESTON

